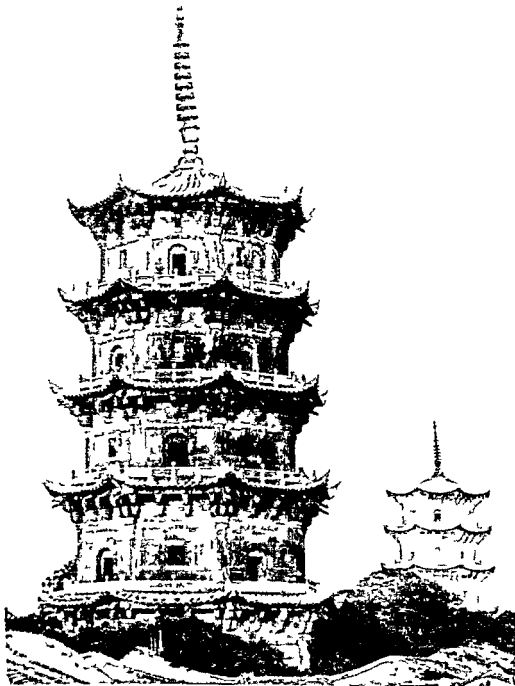


THE
TWIN PAGODAS OF ZAYTON

LONDON : HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS



The Twin Pagodas of Zayton

HARVARD-YENCHING INSTITUTE

MONOGRAPH SERIES

VOLUME II

THE
TWIN PAGODAS OF ZAYTON

A STUDY OF LATER BUDDHIST
SCULPTURE IN CHINA

PHOTOGRAPHS AND INTRODUCTION

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CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1935

CONTENTS

FOREWORD	vii
INTRODUCTION, BY G. ECKE	
I. ZAYTON	3
II. ARCHITECTURE OF THE PAGODAS	7
III. SCULPTURE	11
IV. NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY	19
1. Notes on the Plates	19
2. Notes on the Folding Plans	23
3. Bibliography	24
ICONOGRAPHY AND HISTORY, BY P. DEMIÉVILLE	
I. ICONOGRAPHY	29
1. Western Pagoda, Stories i to v	29
2. Base of the Eastern Pagoda	42
3. Eastern Pagoda, Stories i to v	66
4. Conclusion	80
II. HISTORICAL DATA	82
1. Bibliography	82
2. K'ai-yüan Temple	84
3. Stūpas and Votive Pillars	87
4. Western Pagoda	90
5. Eastern Pagoda	92
6. Buddhist Architects and Foreign Monks in Ch'üan-chou	94

PLATES

FOREWORD

The Twin Pagodas at Ch'uan-chou, the ancient Zayton, were mentioned and depicted for the first time in Western literature by the Rev. C. C. Brown in 1907, in a collection of short stories. J. J. M. De Groot, in his treatise on the "Thūpa" (1919), calls them "wahre Granitkolosse". Some of the present material was contributed to Boerschmann's work on Chinese Pagodas (1931), where it appears as figures 359 to 370.

About 1917 M. Georges Lecomte, then French Consul in Amoy, had visited Ch'uan-chou and was shown by Father Moya the remarkable carvings on the base of the Eastern Pagoda. He had them photographed by a local photographer, and sent the pictures to Édouard Chavannes, who undertook an iconographical study of the carvings. The premature death of the great sinologist in 1918 interrupted this work; the photographs and the few notes which he had scribbled with a faltering pencil were left to Professor Foucher, who in his turn made them over to Professor Przyłuski. The authors had no knowledge of these previous photographs, and their manuscript had already been handed over, when in February 1933 Professors Foucher and Przyłuski happened to see some of the photographs taken by G. Ecke; they recognized the carvings formerly photographed for M. Georges Lecomte, and very kindly entrusted to P. Demiéville all the material left by Chavannes. No use could be made of the photographs, which were of inferior quality, but some of Chavannes' notes have helped in the final revision of the present publication.

The attention of G. Ecke was first attracted to the monumental beauty of the Ch'uan-chou towers in 1925, when the authors of this book were staying together at the University of Amoy, recently founded in his native city by a great Chinese philanthropist, Mr. Tan Kah Kee (Ch'ên Chia-kêng 陳嘉庚) of Singapore. After examining these towers, they found them of interest both for the architect and for the student of Buddhist sculpture and iconography. As this material was unknown to Western scholars, G. Ecke decided to collect it. The present publication embodies the data concerning mainly sculpture and iconography. The architectural material

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION¹

By G ECKE

I ZAYTON

Now that the dispute about the identity of Ch'uan-chou 泉州 (official name Chin-chuang hsien 晉江縣, province of Fu-chien 福建省) with the Zayton of medieval travellers is ended,² Marco Polo's description acquires a more concrete importance

At this city is the haven of Zayton, frequented by all ships of India which bring thither spicery and all other kinds of costly wares. It is the port also that is frequented by all merchants of Manzi, for hither is imported the most astonishing quantity of goods and of precious stones and pearls, and from this they are distributed all over Manzi. And I assure you that for one shipload of pepper that goes to Alexandria destined for Christendom, there come a hundred such, aye and more too, to this haven of Zayton for it is one of the two greatest havens in the world of commerce.³

The bay of Ch'uan-chou, into which flow two large rivers (cf. plan v), today almost agrees in its magnificent width with Ibn Baṭūṭah's statement (ca. 1346) that "the harbour of Zayton be one of the greatest in the world, nay the greatest",⁴ and as the Arab author continues he tells of seeing there "about one hundred first-class junks together", and that the small ones were "past counting" one may imagine the deserted harbour with its granite ribbed coast and rugged mountains in the distance⁵ peopled

¹ For convenience in reference, the two pagodas are denoted in the text as W (Western Pagoda) and E (Eastern Pagoda). The stories, from bottom to top, are numbered with Roman numerals, while the sixteen carvings which decorate each story, starting from the southern bay and continuing from right to left, are numbered in Arabic figures. Thus E iv 3 means Eastern Pagoda fourth story from the bottom third carving from the south. For practical reasons the plates could not be arranged in strict accordance with the actual order of the carvings for a general view of all carvings on the five stories of each pagoda see the synoptical tables (plans I-11).

² J. Kuwabara (A, 30-33), after reviewing the five different theories on the Zayton problem, concludes that "Zayton necessarily was Ch'uan-chou". Ir. Hirth (HR Intr. 18 n. 1) "The conclusion now nearly universally accepted is that Zayton of the Sung and Yuan periods was Ch'uan-chou". A. C. Moule (MO, 192, n. 50) "There is no doubt now that Zayton was Ch'uan-chou".

³ Yule-Cordier *Ser Marco Polo*, II, 234-235.

⁴ YC, IV, 118-119.

⁵ *China, Its Scenery, etc., Illustrated*, by Thomas Allom, between pages 60 and 61 of this well-known romantic publication is to be found an engraving entitled "Entrance to Chin-chew River, Fokien". This is not a view of Zayton Harbour, for which Yule took it, but of the passage between Chi yü 雞嶼 and the mainland looking southwest, towards Hai téng 海澄 (plan v), between Amoy and Chang-chou.

with a waving multitude of giant cargo boats from all China and overseas "The ships which sail the Southern Sea are like houses When their sails are spread they are like great clouds in the sky" ⁶

At the entrance of the haven towers the granite Stone-lake Pagoda 石湖塔 of 1111 A D the first landmark of ancient Zayton Far away this monument dominates the bay and gives the first idea of the Twin Pagodas for which it may have served as an architectural pattern Beyond this tower the fairway parts to the northwest one sails up to the Lo yang Bridge 洛陽橋 ⁷ of 1053-1059 (pl 71a), over this bridge Marco Polo travelled to the south and John of Monte Corvino to the north Towards the west however, one enters the Chin chiang 晉江 and finally moors below the Shun chi Bridge 順濟橋 of 1211 (pl 3a) at the site of Ch'uan nan 泉南 in the days of Zayton a settlement for traders from all parts of the medieval East ⁸

At the beginning of the thirteenth century Ch uan chou was in full bloom as a centre of foreign commerce So Chao Ju kua 趙汝适 who was director of the maritime trade, ⁹ naturally acquired extensive information from the foreigners who came there which enabled him to write his *Description of Foreign Countries*, 諸蕃志 ¹⁰ Just about this time, in 1228, foundations for the first of the two stone towers of Zayton were laid In 1250 the last story of the second tower was finished and in 1276 P u Shou-k'ing 蒲壽庚 a Chinese of Arab origin, and a successor of Chao as director of trade betrayed the city to the Mongols ¹¹ Marco Polo embarked in 1292 at Zayton with his Mongol princess for Persia and Monte Corvino landed there about one or two years later ¹²

Today some atmosphere of the ancient world haven lingers in this romantic city ¹³ The very pavement stones of Ch uan-chou mingled with

⁶ HR 33 A 66 et seq

⁷ Description of the bridge its history etc in *EA*, *passim* figs 1 1 4 9 11 12

⁸ Fr Hirth (II 75) The southern suburbs of that city probably contained the foreign settlement which is likely to have occupied a site facing the harbour or as near as possible to the anchorage which is actually in the south of the city

⁹ PF₁ 449

¹⁰ A 28 Cf HR

¹¹ Concerning the brothers P u the massacre of numerous members of the imperial clan of Chao 趙 and the following surrender of Zayton cf Professor Chang Hsue ng-lang's *Materials for the History of the Intercourse between China and the West* 張星烺東西交通史料彙編 6 vols Peking 1930 III ii 234 240 Chao Ju kua himself was a member of the imperial clan

¹² MO 172

¹³ Pls 3b 4a-5b 7a "b c" a

inscribed Arabic tomb slabs, the pervading smell of incense — a renowned local product reminiscent of Zayton's costly spicery —, and the best old-fashioned compasses of China displayed in the shops, still recall the aura of Zayton, whose name survives for us in the word "satin". While two famous ancient Buddhist monasteries, the remains of Hindu (pl. 69a-d) and Nestorian (pl. 70b) sanctuaries, the great mosque (pl. 70a), and the traces of Manichaeism¹⁴ attest the religious life of the decayed cosmopolis, a remarkable granite architecture in the region betrays its riches and grandeur: nowhere else in China have bridges been spanned with such colossal granite beams (pl. 71b).

The sight of the enormous, broad-set granite towers evokes in the modern visitor the image of that "wonderful seaport, a city to us incredible . . .", as Marignolli called it towards the middle of the fourteenth century,¹⁵ whose fame came to be one of the causes contributing to the discovery of America. A comparison of these unique structures, erected at a place of world-wide commerce, with the celebrated T'ieh-sê Liu-li Pagoda¹⁶ at K'ai-fêng (Ho-nan), helps to illustrate the particular character of Zayton and its people. The glazed ceramic pagoda of K'ai-fêng had been erected 200 years before the Zayton towers at the Northern Sung capital; it remains today the outstanding example of imperial Sung architecture. Its costly material, the ceramic colour scheme of mellow rust-red and orange yellow, the slender form with its simple and yet elegant proportions are characteristic of the reign of Jên-tsung (1023-1063), renowned for the most perfect wares the Chinese imperial kilns have ever produced.

It was an official from Zayton at the court of K'ai-fêng, Ts'ai Hsiang 蔡襄,¹⁷ in his turn builder of the useful and massive Lo-yang Bridge at Zayton Harbour, who remonstrated at the extraordinary luxury of the imperial pottery pagoda. As a matter of fact, although branches of the imperial clan resided at Ch'uan-chou,¹⁸ the granite towers of Zayton may owe their colossal proportions not so much to the influence of delicate courtiers and refined scholar artists as to the hanseatic pride of bold skippers, rugged seafarers and highlanders¹⁹ of a region which knew no

¹⁴ PE₂, and Ch'ên Yuan 陳垣, *Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking*, IV, 65-68

¹⁵ MO, 259, YC, III, 191

¹⁶ B, 232-237.

¹⁷ EK₂, pl. 22, fig. 5

¹⁸ V, note 11

¹⁹ A tradition of independence has survived in the Ch'uan-chou region up to the present day. K'ung's (Chêng Ch'ng-kung) family belonged to Shih-ching near An-hai, about twenty miles to

INTRODUCTION

culture before the T'ang period and very little before that of the Sung. Not the kinsmen of the Sung emperors seem to have constituted the supporters of the K'ai-yuan ssü, but "homines novi", rich and powerful traders of the same stern race as the simple monks and artisan sculptors who put up the towers in this chief temple of Zayton.

the southwest of Ch'üan-chou. The people of Ch'üan-chou even claim as one of their own José Rizal y Mercado, the hero of Filipino liberation, who is known to be of Chinese origin.

II. ARCHITECTURE OF THE PAGODAS²⁰

The temple gazetteer²¹ gives a description of the architecture employed in the pagodas which shows an understanding for the simple and grave dignity of this mode of construction, even though at the end of the Ming dynasty the principles of its Sung style had long been forgotten. The text mentions the forty stone columns, the forty large and the forty small beams that in both towers comprise the enormous skeleton of the five stories, at least in appearance (frontispiece). According to my measurements the height of the western tower amounts to 149' 9", that of the eastern to 163' 3".

A special wooden style current in the Sung period and suited to these monuments has been almost undeviatingly reproduced in massive blocks of a stone that has outstanding tensile strength and is easy to cleave. While neither the T'ang mode of wooden construction with its complicated systems of interfunctional levers, purlins, brackets, and transverses, nor the ornate imperial Sung style would have suited ashlar, the simplified, sturdy style employed by the builders at Zayton suited the use of stone.

No special Chinese term seems to have come down to us for this Sung style of wooden construction; it appears never to have been recognized as an official style, as none of its features are mentioned in the official compendium of the Sung dynasty, the *Ying tsao fa shih* 營造法式²². Though obviously purely Chinese in origin, it is called in Japan the "Indian style", Tenjikuyō 天竺様, as distinguished from the "Japanese style", Wayō 和様, and the so-called "T'ang style", Karayō 唐様.²³ It is said to have been introduced into Japan from Southern China at the end of the twelfth century by the monk Chōgen 重源 (*TA, passim*). Tenjiku could here perhaps not mean "Indian" in general, but may be an allusion to the famous monasteries of the T'ien-chu shan 天竺山 near Hang-chou in Chê-chiang (?). Also the chronicle of the K'ai-yuan Temple reports the completion of the Eastern Pagoda by a "preaching monk from the T'ien-chu [ssü]" (?) 天竺講僧.²⁴

We subjoin a brief résumé of the main tectonic principles of the Tenjikuyō.

²⁰ In this book the word "pagoda" is used to designate larger Chinese towers, while the Sanskrit term "stūpa" is applied to smaller monuments more or less Indian in style, as suggested by Paléologue, *L'art chinois*, 118-121

²¹ V. page 82

²² *D, Y, passim*

²³ *AM*, I, 221, 222.

in China a non-official, provincial rôle. Elements of principle "c" are discernible in the still existing Liao structures of Northern China, especially in the various ancient temples of Ta-t'ung 大同, in Shan-hsi. In Chê-chiang, the province of the T'ien-chu shan, I am aware of no surviving example. The only large wooden building in this style (yet without the criteria "d" and "f") known to me is the Shan-mên 山門 of the Nan-shan ssü 南山寺 at Chang-chou 漳州 in Fu-chien, which may date from the end of the tenth century.³² Unfortunately this important monument has never been surveyed or published. Another specimen, a square pavilion with four columns and a typical bracketing system of type "c", without any cross-arms however, still exists at the Yung-ch'uan ssü 湧泉寺 on the Ku-shan 鼓山 near Fu-chou in Fu-chien. But since a straight bracket system without cross-arms still survives in rustic Fu-chien, it is difficult to fix the probable date of such simple structures.³³

This style was first introduced into Japan by the monk Chōgen from China on the occasion of the reconstruction of the Tōdaiji 東大寺 at Nara which took place in the years 1190 to 1195.³⁴ Chōgen must have had a sense for grandeur to choose just this particular non-official fashion for reerecting the gigantic Daibutsuden 大佛殿; it is indeed a lamentable loss that this extraordinary Tenjikuyō structure was once more destroyed by fire in 1567, but the Nandaimon 南大門 of the same temple,³⁵ built likewise by Chōgen, gives some idea at least of how the huge hall may have looked.

China of the Sung epoch no longer understood the grand scale of the vanished architecture at Ch'ang-an 長安, which the first Daibutsuden of 749 still reflected till it perished in 1180. Since, however, the colossal trunk of the bronze Vairocana survived the conflagration, it was the task of Chōgen to pick a contemporary style which would fit the gigantic dimensions of an image which was still a typical T'ang conception. The result must have been both original and grand, a union of a rustic Sung style with the loftiness of T'ang design.

The architectural design of the Zayton granite pagodas is also unique and ingenious. The Eastern Pagoda in particular shows in its details what

³² 龍溪縣志, Ch. xi, p. 5

³³ Cf. the illustration of a typical Fu-chien up-country farm in J. Thomson, *Through China with a Camera*, Westminster, 1898, opp. p. 162.

³⁴ TA, II.

³⁵ S₂, Pl. 117; JA, *passim*

could be created in China when, as here in Zayton, the will to build in stone existed. The Tenjikuyō was in fact the only style which, in its well-founded simplicity, lent itself to reproduction in granite.

I shall now proceed to a short comparison of the structural arrangements in the Nandaimon of the Tōdaiji,²⁶ characteristic of the corresponding Chinese wooden style of the time, with those of the Eastern Pagoda at Ch'üan-chou (pl. 30), and show the main changes the style underwent when granite replaced wood. First of all, the composite consols within one bay had to be moved closer together, both for structural and for aesthetic reasons; consequently the two posts that would have carried the two middle cantilevers were omitted, one face showing only two corner-posts. These posts themselves no longer rise to support a purlin, but end below the cantilever in an enormous, almost archaic, carrying capital. In the wooden fashion the three corner cantilevers are combined with the corner-post, an arrangement which, *mutatis mutandis*, is still observed in the case of the Western Pagoda (pl. 8b). A similar arrangement is also found in the brick-built Tiger Hill Pagoda near Su-chou 蘇州虎邱塔, another important example of the Tenjikuyō in Southern China (TS, pl. 15/II). In the Eastern Pagoda the corner-posts support only the diagonal cantilevers; the two outer cantilevers in every bay are isolated to make a homogeneous display with the two in the middle. The eight superimposed wooden brackets of the Nandaimon scheme in the Eastern Pagoda are combined into the two powerful members of the composite cantilevers which are tied together in the middle by an enormous, horizontal beam of granite.²⁷

The slight variation in the construction of the two towers can be observed in the general aspect of the frontispiece (pl. 1). In the Western Pagoda the structural members have been less emphasized in favour of the unity of design. The outer tie-beam with its horizontal effect has been omitted, the pentroofs protrude less, the shadows below are less deep. The Western Pagoda particularly is harmonious and vigorous in *toto*. The Eastern Pagoda, on the other hand, is noteworthy for its strong, well-conceived, single entablatures.

²⁶ Ss., Pl. 117

²⁷ Ss., 70, T'A, *passim*; AM, I, 242-246, 282-289, II, figs 86-88; J'A, *passim*. A sort of kindred Tenjikuyō bracketing, executed in moulded brick after wooden models, exists in the Pi-chih t'sa 辟支塔 of the Ling-yen ssü 靈嚴寺 in Shan-tung. It is equipped with one horizontal outer tie-beam, which still remains, in part, a combination of all the cross-arms (B, 119 *et seq*)

III. SCULPTURE

As an ornament within the architectural scheme of each pagoda, eighty panels with life-size figures carved in middle relief are inserted into the ashlar framework. The main motifs are Patriarchs and Arhats, real or imaginary monastic portraits, and a series of Bodhisattvas and Guardians. The basements are decorated with Yakṣa Atlantes and with ornamental and narrative panel friezes; the pentroofs, with minor mythological beings as ridge-figures. Originally the forty outer and inner niches of each tower were filled with sculptures in the round, an arrangement still found at the Jui-yun Pagoda 瑞雲塔 of Fu-ch'ing 福清, seventy-seven miles to the north-east of Ch'üan-chou.³⁸ In Ch'üan-chou, however, only two out of the eighty niche-figures are left, and these are not *in situ*. The numerous carvings, produced within a period of some twenty years (?), display no evidence of stylistic development, although they differ in skill and conception. The greenstone reliefs of the eastern basement, particularly praised by the chronicler as "works of divine art and supernatural workmanship", rise above the level of provincial workmanship, as do the Guardians in the first eastern story along with several other representations of both towers. This sculpture bears the mark of a local, rustic art, endowed with all the characteristics of its time.³⁹ It is crude and yet vigorously expressive. The power emanating from some of the figures, broad-set like the towers themselves, seems to be enhanced by the rough manner of chiselling. It may have been the technical difficulty in mastering the adamant material which made some figures so drastically disproportionate, gave the square, rustic faces an air of rugged strength, and made the earthborn Guardians and Yakṣas weirdly uncouth.⁴⁰

³⁸ *B*, fig. 358

³⁹ No special reference is here given to the standard publications dealing with Sung painting and plastics. Of particular bearing on the present problems are earlier articles by Kuemmel (*KU*), Glaser (*GL*), and Siren (*SI*), cf. also *ME*, 38-43, Lisséev, following Woelflin's categories, has made a comparative analysis of the prominent features in the T'ang and Sung styles of monastic portrait painting (*EL*). Closely related to the Ch'üan-chou sculptures, though on the whole much inferior in quality, are the rock-carvings near Hang-chou, the ancient capital of Wu-Yüeh 吳越 during the Five Dynasties, and of the Southern Sung Empire. They were for the first time mentioned and partly illustrated by Maspero (*MA*), cf. also *TS* and *S*. The Arhat figures, modelled in mud, at the Pao-shêng ssü 寶聖寺 at Lu-chih 廬直 (Chuang-su), are supposed by Japanese (Ômura Seigai) and Chinese scholars to be of T'ang origin (*MI*), but seem to be much more recent. We are looking forward with much interest to Langdon Warner's comprehensive publication of the Kamakura plastics, which is bound to throw new light also on the related Chinese subject.

⁴⁰ *Pls* 26 (*W* iv 11), 16 (*W* ii 3), 49 (*C* ii 12), etc., 59 (*E* v 11), 10, 12a-d

Local influences spreading from Ch'üan-chou may be discerned in two other places of Southern Fu-chien. The niche-figures and reliefs of the Jui-yün Pagoda at Fu-ch'ing date from the end of the Ming dynasty, as the tower was constructed between 1607 and 1615;⁴¹ these sculptures are amongst the best in the province. The bas-reliefs of Fu-ch'ing, some of which are full of expression (pl. 64a, b), point to a later period of Chinese plastic art, that of the porcelain statuettes produced at Tê-hua 德化 near Ch'uan-chou, and of the wood carvings of Fu-chou, which have flourished from the Ming era up to the present day.

About sixty miles to the southwest of Ch'uan-chou, in the city of Chang-chou, a number of full-plastic granite figures are set up in various public places. These Arhats or Patriarchs are said formerly to have been part of a series in the local K'ai-yuan ssü.⁴² Their date is uncertain, but they evidently belong to this whole group of provincial carvings. If we discount the local traits we may consider this whole group to embody certain traits of post-T'ang Chinese sculpture in general.⁴³

The present material also proves how much this later plastic owes to the influence of contemporary Buddhist painting.⁴⁴ No really plastic style shapes these carvings, no fundamental artistic principle of statuary. The distinction between painting and relief has been almost abandoned. Sometimes one might even speak of "carved paintings", an aesthetic antinomy that to some degree holds true even in those cases where the sculpture is executed in the round. Reliefs like those of pls. 15 (W 11) or 19 (W v 1, 2) are conceived like pictures, with their diagonal composition, their contours, the fall of the garment, and the "strokes" of the chisel. The light and shade of the folds in the drapery of pls. 27 (W v 8) or 59 (E v 15) almost suggest the full curves of a summarizing brush. Pictorial also is the treatment of the full-plastic Bodhidharma, pl. 61b; the soft flow but vivid

⁴¹ EK.

⁴² Pls 62a-d, 63.

⁴³ From the Five Dynasties to the Yüan dynasty and later, there appear in Chinese sculpture certain common "naturalistic" elements that sometimes make it difficult to differentiate the plastic manners of the various coexisting or changing dynasties. The attribution of the ceramic patriarchs from I-chou varies from T'ang to Ming — the most famous example of this difficulty, and particularly interesting with regard to the stylistic problems of our Fu-chien material. The T'ang date is based on alleged ceramic evidence, cf. *HO*, frontispiece: "Statue of a Lohan or Buddhist Apostle, T'ang Dynasty," and pp. 35-37; furthermore. *KU*; *PZ*, 131-155, plates 43-45; *FI*, 116, 404 (torso of the Fuld Collection), 466 (Metropolitan Museum, New York); r. *infra* note 60.

⁴⁴ Cf. *TA*, *Koklo*, No. 469: "... Certain Buddhist pictures imported from China ... were used for models in making sculptures ...," namely in Japan during the Kamakura period.

rhythm of drapery makes this relief particularly representative of the "plastic" style of the Sung dynasty. None of the carvings shows a tendency towards anything like statuesque repose. There is motion everywhere: not only in the "baroque" of the Guardian's stride, or in his menacing attitude, but also in the slow movement of placid saints. This pictorial character of the reliefs is obvious, no matter how different in kind the patterns may have been.

We find some support for the conjecture that the carved legends of the eastern base go back to a pictorial source from a painted legendary of the later Ashikaga period (about 1500) preserved in the Seiryōji 清涼寺 near Kyōto. This work consists of six volumes, five comprising illustrations and one, only text. Four of the illustrated volumes were painted by Kano Motonobu, the celebrated founder of the Kano School. By the Japanese historians Motonobu is designated as 和漢折衷, a Sino-Japanese eclectic. In this case the Japanese painter is reported to have worked from a collection of paintings imported from China. To judge mainly from the representation of the "First Meeting" reproduced in No. 171 of the *Kokka*, the human types which Motonobu gathers into his composition, the first-class draftsmanship, the treatment of the drapery, the proportions of the painting (23" by 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ "), and even the mode of perspective remind us of the Sung panel carvings in the base of the Eastern Pagoda (pl. 33, n°5). The type of the aged man in this "First Meeting" shows a strikingly congruent conception. The representation of the Bodhisattva in a car in the Japanese composition indicates that the putative pictorial models are likely to have undergone considerable simplification in the carved adaptation.

The originals which may have inspired both the stone-carver at Ch'uan-chou and Kano Motonobu must have belonged to the Chinese school of historical and genre painting which, developing from very early origins, is known to have attained its acme in a Japanese branch, the Tosa School. But in the carvings of the eastern basement one finds neither the grandeur of the historical paintings of the T'ang dynasty, as known from the few remainders at Tun-huang, nor the dramatic passion of the Japanese works of the Kamakura period. Evidently the basement carvings of Ch'uan-chou are connected with the Chinese genre painting of the same period.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Cf. *TS*, IV, plates 7-12 Ch'i-hua ssü 棲霞寺 near Nanking, base of the Sarira Pagoda, the "Eight Events in the Life of Śākyamuni". These reliefs rank at the very end of a dying T'ang tra-

Even though little is known about this mode of painting, the few specimens left ⁴⁶ display the same delicate yet vivid realism as these narrative panels, while the mode of carving shows the somewhat thick-set proportions typical of this provincial manner.

The vivid pictorial realism of the legends is effective not only in the face, but in the entire figure and its drapery. All the figures in one scene are interrelated, and the scene is treated as a single episode in which each figure plays its natural part. When faced with the problem of translating his painted model into bas-relief, the sculptor proves to have understanding for his task. By transferring nearly the entire scene into the two-dimensional plane, he usually avoids the portrayal of any perspective depth, and only occasionally indicates vanishing lines. Diagonal views are mastered, just as are bodily motion and the complicated movement of the drapery. The position of the head is successfully handled, from the profile to the full face in all intermediate stages. The figures are so grouped that the lack of perspective depth does not interfere with the natural effect of the scene, while the space at the carver's disposal is filled and enlivened. The psychological treatment of the single figures, along with the general "vérité anecdotique", ⁴⁷ endows these narrative carvings with the tender charm of rustic simplicity.

The Arhats, the Patriarchs, and other portrait-like representations in the upper stories have evidently been produced under the influence of various earlier and contemporary schools of painting. Not only have the works of Kuan Hsiu 貫休, ⁴⁸ the violent expressionist, inspired the sculptors; the more moderate and graceful realism of Li Lung-mien 李龍眠 and the monastic portraiture of the time have also served as models. ⁴⁹ Names like Lin T'ing-kuei 林庭珪 and Lu Hsin-chung 陸信忠 may also be mentioned, because signed and dated specimens of their work suggest influences

dition, a comparison of their composition and technique with the present reliefs throws light on the problems of stylistic development. A Sung (?) representation of the "White Horse bringing the sūtras" occurring at the T'ai-lai shan near Hang-chou (S₄, IV, pl. 607 A) also calls for comparison with our plate 38, n° 26.

⁴⁶ TO, plates 61-64, "Wên-chü's Captivity, etc.", S₄, I, 115 *et seq.* S₄, II, 63 *et seq.*, S₅, pl. LX, "Wang Tchao-tchouen se rendant chez les Tartares" etc., a scroll, "Leave-taking", ascribed to Chao Mêng-fu (1254-1322) in the collection of the Berlin State Museum.

⁴⁷ Attention may be drawn to details contributing to the material history of Sung civilization; for instance, the type of monument illustrated on pl. 39, n° 31 seems to be the earliest dated specimen of its kind, an adaptation of a symbolic stūpa of the Tantra School preserved in Japan in a more archaic form as the Gorin-no-tō 五輪塔.

⁴⁸ S₄, I, 108, TK, 251, 252

⁴⁹ EL, 195, 197

of their brushwork upon the dominant contemporary manner,⁵⁰ which, in turn, some of the Ch'üan-chou reliefs seem to mirror. Making allowances for the provincial craftsmanship, one finds here and there amongst the carved monks and Arhats traces reminiscent of both manners, the more linear and vivid technique of Lin and the brushwork, the round and fat types of Lu's Arhats. Perhaps the most remarkable carving of this monastic type is the unidentified sage or saint E III 12 (pls. 55, 60).

In the collection of the Palace Museum at Pei-p'ing is a monastic painting which was produced towards the close of the Southern Sung dynasty at Ta-li 大理 (Yun-nan). This interesting scroll,⁵¹ a blend of Tantra and Dhyāna miniature representations, is noteworthy for its set of sixteen Dhyāna Patriarchs. The figures, sitting in meditation, are vividly characterized in a fine linear style, with a colouring, a treatment of drapery, a posture and total grasp that show outspoken affinity both to the coloured ceramics of Patriarchs found by Perzynski at I-chou 易州⁵² and some of the sculptures of the K'ai-yuan ssü at Chang-chou.⁵³ The linear conception, the matter-of-fact realism displayed in these minatures is different from the idealizing or illusive style of monastic painting already referred to. In this connection, we may refer to the famous putative portraits of the Patriarch Hsiang-hsiang in the Tōdaiji at Nara and of Hsuan-tsang in the Hara Collection. This latter painting gives at least some idea of the precise treatment of the garment which in the Ta-li scroll is so specific that some of its Patriarchs look like the immediate archetypes of the ceramic Patriarchs of I-chou. Again, the same lines of the drapery, the same postures are to be found in some of the sculptures at Chang-chou,⁵⁴ and bespeak the reminiscence of a kindred tradition. The type of Bodhisattva of the fourth story in the Eastern Pagoda also occurs in the Ta-li scroll, clumsy, thick-set, overloaded with trinkets, while some of the animal representations show the same naïve animal realism in the legends of the eastern base. One may perhaps suppose that such more or less popular and often

⁵⁰ *TO*, plates 77-84, 110-124, *S*, II, 56 *et seq.*, cf. also, amongst other examples in the *Kokka*, No 459, pl 1, No 460, plates 1, 2, No 465, plates 1, 2, No 469, plates 3, 4, etc

⁵¹ Miss Helen B. Chapin of Mills College, to whom I am indebted for information, had the scroll photographed. Up to recently it was kept in the Palace Museum at Pei p'ing, title. 宋時大理國描工張勝溫畫梵像. The colophon bears a date of the kingdom of Ta-li, corresponding with 1240. The half-barbarous origin of the minatures from the southern border districts of Yün-nan can be observed in many features of costume, etc. But the general character is Chinese and may represent a common routine style of monastic miniature painting typical of the close of the Sung dynasty.

⁵² *V*, note 43

⁵³ *Pls* 62a-d, 63

⁵⁴ *Pls* 62a-d, 63

stereotyped representations and miniature legends existed in the libraries of the Sung monasteries and may have influenced the Buddhist sculptor of the time.

Even the types of Guardians are far from involving genuine plastic principles. They display a typical pseudo-plastic style, the work of artisans who see with the Sung painter's eye rather than with that of the hieratic sculptor of earlier epochs. Again the Ta-li scroll shows kindred types, but one might here assume other models for the Ch'uan-chou carvers. The ornamental character of the panels within the general architectural composition has been mentioned. The reliefs of Guardians in particular may be adaptations of such scrolls and block prints, which even now are affixed to temple walls and doors, to embellish them on high festivals, — popular images expressed in the technical terms of a stone-carver. Some spectre-like images of the Western Pagoda almost look like the ancestors of modern popular woodcuts used at the various feast-days.⁵⁵ Their primitive conception also reminds one of some of those fierce types in the popular fiction, which was in the making towards the end of the Sung and the beginning of the Yuan dynasty. Today they survive not only in the crude block prints, but even more so in certain types of the theatre. William Cohn,⁵⁶ in speaking of an iron Sung torso, holds that the Guardians of the Sung period look like "real wrestlers and boxers". The "Mahoraga" of the Eastern Pagoda,⁵⁷ whose guardians are less naïve and more lifelike, calls to mind an actor representing on the stage a hero (Wu-shêng 武生) or a mythical being. The hieratic constraint of style, the ritual movements of the actor are embodied in some of the reliefs in that naturalistic interpretation typical of the Sung period.⁵⁸

Tha'ālibī, a Muslim writer from Nisāpūr, who lived from 961 to 1038, indicates to us the impression the "naturalistic" Chinese Sung sculpture made on non-Chinese contemporary observers. He says of the Chinese that they "own such a strange taste in the sculpturing of statues and such a capacity in producing images, that their sculptors model the human form without omitting anything save the soul; that they are not satisfied ... they are able to represent him laughing, and make a difference be-

⁵⁵ Cf. *EK*, pl. 22, fig. 5.

⁵⁶ *CO*, 52, pl. 47, *CO*, 82 et seq., 2 plates.

⁵⁷ Pl. 42 (C 13).

⁵⁸ *CHA*, figs. 969-972, *S*, pl. LXIV; *TS*, IV, pl. 5; *S*, pl. 560 n.

tween the laughing of malice and the laughing of shame, distinguishing the smiling and the wondering one, the laughing of him who is content and the laughing of the mocker. . . ."⁵⁹

These naturalistic and individualistic qualities again are borrowed from painting and opposed to a true statue-like conception. Such traits are manifest in many examples of the present collection, and such minor psychological features may indicate a stylistic development from the Sung types of Ch'uan-chou to the frankly human individualities represented amongst the sculptures of Fu-ch'ing as well as amongst those of Chang-chou. The latter are not definitely dated, but their psychological character brings them nearer to the Ming carvings of the Jui-yun Pagoda than to the romantic and illusive naturalism of the Ch'uan-chou reliefs.⁶⁰

The Fu-ch'ing niche-figures are more or less immediately derived from the Sung tradition of Ch'uan-chou; they continue their pictorial, and intensify their realistic, tendencies. The head of pl 65b, for instance, has obviously been copied from a head like that of pl 15 (W 11). But the Ming sculptor has succeeded in giving such an individually human touch to his carving that the typical traits of Sung style have disappeared. A comparison of the mouth of pl 61c, which, like a "pout", is symptomatic of a popular Sung and Liao style, or of the lips in pl. 61b, likewise a Sung product, with a mouth typical of the later (Ming) examples of the present collection, clearly illustrates this development. It is a human and natural mouth that may be observed in these later figures; one capable of very individual expressions, from the naïve delight around the lips of pls 64b and 65b, to the benevolent grin of the old monk of pl 62c, the imperious energy and soberness of the head on pl 63, and the tragic smile

⁵⁹ P. Kalke, "Islamische Quellen zum chinesischen Porzellan," *ZDMG*, LXXXVIII (1934), 1-45.

⁶⁰ The kinship of both the Chang-chou and the I-chou Patriarchs with the Patriarchs of the Ta-li scroll is formal rather than psychological, and therefore I do not wish to draw conclusions from the dated scroll on the two sets of plastic Patriarchs, in fact, the tendency towards lifelike characterization seems to place both sets between Sung and Ming, even nearer to the dated Ming specimens from Fu-ch'ing with their "human touch", while the formal relation with the scroll from Ta-li may be due to the influence of similar pictorial patterns in monastic libraries. In this respect the Chang-chou head on plate 63 is particularly notable. Here the chisel has been handled in a remarkably sharp and linear manner, closely related to the "draftsmanly" style of the Ta-li miniatures. On the other hand it has produced an individual expression of "uncompromising spiritual energy" which shows a close resemblance to the I-chou head of the Fuld Collection (*FI*, 464), in the treatment of chin, mouth, nose, in the stylized cut of the eyes, in the swing and torosity of the brows, and in the expression of the forehead. The main differences between these two heads are the result of the material.

of Bodhidharma with the loosened teeth of pl. 65a. A corresponding development in the treatment of the eyes can be observed.

These carvings of Chang-chou and Fu-ch'ing culminate a process of increasing humanization. It began with the new romantic and popular tendencies which arose after the downfall of the T'ang culture,⁶¹ and gradually led to some of the features of Ming sculpture just mentioned. It is the personal touch, a certain tinge of momentary emotion which distinguishes the later carvings from their likewise naturalistic predecessors of the Sung period. Whatever may have been either monumental or impersonal in the Sung carvings,⁶² reminiscent of T'ang tradition, under the Ming is finally shifted into the sphere of human individuality, though at the expense of the romantic sentiment of the Sung era.⁶³

⁶¹ *EL*, 193

⁶² Plates 55, 60 (E III 12)

⁶³ Pls 63, 65a.

IV. NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. NOTES ON THE PLATES

The illustrations of the panel reliefs are arranged from top to bottom, and the reliefs numbered from right to left. Cf. p. 3 n. 1. Measurements in feet and inches. Symbols A to W refer to the monuments of the K'ai-yüan Temple, as indicated on plan III.

The photographs were taken with a special Zeiss lens kindly secured by Professor Kuemmel.

Pl. 1. Frontispiece. View of Twin Pagodas from southwest; state before restoration in 1926. During this last restoration the joints, not meant to be a motif, were flushed with white cement, whereby the appearance of the towers was changed. Formerly they showed throughout a mellow colour of rust due to weathering of the ferruginous local granite. Surrounded by dwellings of a soft brick-red and by dark-green banyan trees the pagodas offered a remarkable spectacle.

Old local photograph for which I am indebted to the British lady missionaries at Ch'uan-chou.

Pl. 2a. Entrance into Amoy Harbour, looking south; typical "Rias"-coast of South Fu-chien.

Pl. 2b. "Chaos de Rocs" on Amoy Island; formation typical for South Fu-chien.

Pl. 3a. View towards southwest from Shun-chi Bridge, Ch'uan-nan, Ch'uan-chou.

Pl. 3b. View of Ch'uan-chou from northeast; Muslim tombs in foreground.

Pl. 4a. Ch'uan-chou, ruined mansion in northwestern part; view towards north.

Pl. 4b. Ch'uan-chou, view of K'uei-hsing lou 奎星樓 from southwest; note small gate in right foreground with typical features of local Tenjikuyō.

Pl. 5a. View of Twin Pagodas from southeast; early local photograph.

Pl. 5b. View from northeast of twin towers after restoration; note re-erected spires.

Pl. 6. Chiselled stone cartouche above south gate of Western Pagoda; legend, name of Western Pagoda: Jên-shou t'a.

Pl. 7a. View of Western Pagoda from south; note the typical Ch'uan-chou domestic architecture in foreground.

Pl. 7b. Gate A of plan III, with Western Pagoda.

Pl. 8a. View from B of votive pillar T2, of 1031 A.D

INTRODUCTION

- Pl. 8b. View of base and first story of Western Pagoda, in background Eastern Pagoda.
- Pl. 9a-c. Staircase and panel reliefs in base of Western Pagoda.
- Pl. 10. Atlantean Yakṣa in base of Western Pagoda.
- Pl. 11. Panel relief with playing lions in base of Western Pagoda.
- Pl. 12a-d. Atlantean Yakṣas in base of Western Pagoda.
- Pls. 13-27. Standing panel reliefs in the five stories of Western Pagoda; low to middle reliefs; protrusion of carving on the average from 3" to 5"; no under-cutting. Average height of panels: W I = 5' 4"; W II = 5' 1"; W III = 5' 1"; W IV = 5'; W V = 5'. For W V 5, 6, which are obliterated, cf. plan I. This earlier set is particularly coarse in conception and execution, but smacks of earth and naïve mystery. Pl. 21, cornice ornamentation: a, W I, southern bay; b, W II, eastern bay.
- Pl. 28. Chiselled stone cartouche above south gate of Eastern Pagoda; legend, name of Eastern Pagoda: Chên-kuo t'a.
- Pl. 29a. View from Q of stūpa R1, 1145 A.D., and of Eastern Pagoda in background.
- Pl. 29b. View of Eastern Pagoda across roof of C.
- Pl. 30. View of first story of Eastern Pagoda, from southeast; E I 15-16 (SE).
- Pl. 31a, b. Panel reliefs in southern staircase of base of Eastern Pagoda.
- Pls. 32-41. Panel reliefs in base of Eastern Pagoda; measurements: 1' 4" x 2' 10"; panel-carving n° 39 is a modern substitute; n° 40 destroyed.
- Pls. 42-60. Standing panel reliefs in the five stories of Eastern Pagoda. Low to middle reliefs; protrusion of carving on the average from 4" to 7"; no under-cutting. Average height of panels: E I = 6' 5"; E II = 5' 10"; E III = 5' 4"; E IV = 5' 7"; E V = 5' 4". For carvings E V 1-8 which are badly carved or obliterated, cf. plan II. Plate 46 gives two views of the second story of the Eastern Pagoda. Pl. 44: E I 10, Head modern restoration. Pl. 56. E IV, southwestern bay: for taking this photograph I am indebted to Dr. W. L. Ch'ên of Hang-chou. E IV 5 and 6 show the condition of the carvings before cleaning.
- .. 61a. Greenstone carving of monk, now kept inside D; Ming (?). Height about 20".
- Pl. 61b. Greenstone carving of Bodhidharma; the concentrated energy of mouth and eyes reminds of the Guardian on pl. 16 (W II 3). Probably former niche-figure inside of Western Pagoda; height: 16.5".

- Pl. 61c. Greenstone carving of monk (patriarch ?); treatment of mouth and forehead resembles that found in reliefs of the Eastern Pagoda; perhaps formerly in outer niche of Eastern Pagoda; height about 30". This piece seems to have been carved after the manner of contemporary cast-iron plastics, to judge from the summary treatment of eyes and face, the simplicity of drapery, the incised ornamentation of the garment. Cf. also "Arhat" from Yen-hsia Tung near Hang-chou, Ss, IV, pl. 602. Although modelled fully in the round, these two putative niche-figures have the character of attached sculptures; they are frontal and not really cubic.
- Pl. 62a-d; Pl. 63. Granite carvings of patriarchs, supposed to have been in the K'ai-yuan Temple of Chang-chou, destroyed by the T'ai-p'ing; Yuan to Ming (?). Less than life-size.
- Pl. 64a, b. Panel reliefs of Jui-yun Pagoda at Fu-ch'ing; Ming Wan-li; height about 3'.
- Pl. 65a, b. Niche-figures of same pagoda, height from 2' to 3'.
- Pl. 66a-c. Stūpas R1 and R2; main yard from northwest.
- Pl. 67a. Main yard with view of Q and C from south; cf. *BR*, 37-41, where a description is given of a New Year's ceremony celebrated in imperial days in this yard. The Rev. Campbell Brown also refers to one of the legends connected with the temple which he calls the "Chinese form of the Roman ox-hide story".
- Pl. 67b. View of northwest corner of C.
- Pl. 68a. One of eight Guardians W in C; early Ming (?); reminiscent of Sung traditions; mud sculpture with lacquer coating.
- Pl. 68b. Musician deity as caryatid, supporting member in roof construction of C; early Ming; cf. *EKs*, from p. 74 *passim*. Strangely reminiscent of contemporary hammer beam motifs in Norfolk, e.g., Wymondham or Knapton.
- Pl. 68c. Group of Arhats in C, early Ming.
- Pl. 69a. Medallion in western Hindu column S; Kāliya-damana: Kṛṣṇa with flute standing on lotus; conch and discus symbols of Viṣṇu above, the polycephalous Nāga encircling him.
- Pl. 69b. Eastern of two Hindu columns S; upper western medallion: Kṛṣṇa tied to the mortar and uprooting the Yamalārjuna tree; middle western medallion: Narasiṃha (man-lion) avatāra of Viṣṇu. Cf. pl. 72b.
- Pl. 69c. Cow as bhakta offering milk to lingam; one of two panel reliefs with lingam representations, now in outer wall of small shrine to the northeast of the K'ai-yuan Temple at Ch'uan-chou.

Pl. 69d. Part of basement frieze Q: "Early Asiatic motifs . . . very like work to be seen . . . at Polonnāvuram in Ceylon".

Dr. Coomaraswamy writes on this material (found and photographed by G. Ecke 1925-1927, now published as *ECW*): "... It is quite evident that the Hindu trading community in Zayton possessed a Hindu temple there. One may presume them to have been Tamils, as the style of architecture is South Indian. . . . I should suppose that the temple was erected under the supervision of a Hindu sthapati assisted by some Hindu masons . . . [and] Chinese artisans copying the Indian designs . . ."; between 1200 and 1400.

Pl. 70a. Inner gate of the mosque, Ch'ing-ching ssū 清淨寺, at Ch'uan-chou. Van Berchem on the inscription of 1310-1311, *AB*, 705: "Ce curieux texte est, à ma connaissance, la plus ancienne inscription arabe relevée à ce jour en Chine"; cf. *AB*, planche III, 710: "... la grande mosquée de Siwas, en Asie Mineure . . . possède un sanctuaire dont celui de Ts. n'est qu'une reproduction réduite. . ."

Pl. 70b. Nestorian (?) cross, found in 1905 by Father Serafin Moya in the Tsou-k'uei kung 奏魁宮 at Ch'uan-chou (寬仁鋪, 府學街) where it is now kept, and where I photographed it in 1927. First photographed and published by Father Gr. Arnaiz, *A*₂, fig p. 644. Father Moya reported to me the strange story which the local Chinese connect with their own discovery of the slab at an unknown date, and which Father Arnaiz included in his article, *A*₁, 68. The name of the temple, Fan-p'u ssū 梵菩寺, near which the slab is said to have been found, points towards a foreign cult. Pelliot says (*PE*₃, p. 644): "Ce monument infiniment curieux soulève des problèmes d'origine assez délicats." Cf. also *AB*, 688; *M*, 80; *EK*₃, 82, 87; height of slab 1' 8".

Pl. 71a. View of southwest entrance to the Lo-yang Bridge.

Pl. 71b. Chiang-tung Bridge 江東橋, east of Chang-chou; after 1237. Most monumental work of bridge building in China; length about 880', consisting originally of two or three small and twelve main openings, one main opening being spanned by three granite beams; size of largest beam 62' 2.5" x 5' x 5' 7"; width of widest span about 55', average width of span 49'. For details of construction, diagrams, etc., cf. *EK*₁. The bridge has been surveyed by Mr. Nikita Wlassow, C. E., of Amoy, and by G. Ecke.

Pl. 72a. T'ung-chin Bridge or Lao Ch'iao-t'ou (Old Bridge), 通津橋, 老橋頭, at Chang-chou; cf. plan v; probably end of Nan Sung.

Pl. 72b. Medallion relief in column "S2": "Narasimha avatāra of Viṣṇu" (Coomaraswamy). Cf. pl. 69b.

2. NOTES ON THE FOLDING PLANS

Plans I, II. Synoptical tables of panel reliefs in the five stories of each pagoda (I, Western; II, Eastern). Drawn by a Chinese artist, who is also responsible for the inscriptions in *chuan* writing.

Plan III. Plot plan of K'ai-yüan Temple; adapted from a plan surveyed by Mr. Lei of the Bureau of Public Works at Ch'üan-chou.

The layout of the yard, as it appeared before the recent restorations, was successfully proportioned to receive the two halls C and D. The slender oblong of the plan was stressed through the absence of the western and the eastern *hsiang* 廡, while a cloister 廊子, beginning on both sides of B and then continuing on the eastern and western flanks throughout a length of more than 500 feet, produced a stately and harmonious unity of design. Such an uninterrupted ambulatory around the courtyards is still a T'ang conception. The present plan of the K'ai-yuan Temple, however, is not likely to be older than the Sung, the type of T'ang layout preserved in Nara and in the imperial palace at Pei-p'ing having a tendency towards breadth rather than length. In fact, while the original of the main hall C was built in 686, the original ordination Terrace D was founded only in 1019. The votive pillar T2 dates from 1031, and the two stūpas R were erected in 1145. During the restoration of pagoda N there were dug up from the ground fragments of stone pillars, etc., suggesting that the Twin Pagodas in their kindred design of 1228 and 1238 respectively were in former times the centres of paved square yards, and surrounded by stone cloisters on platforms of hewn stone equal in height to the base terraces of the pagodas. Stone bridgeways by which to approach the towers from the north were still extant when I was there. Such a regular square design goes back to ancient Saṅghārāma conceptions of Gandhāra, and in our case is similar to the Tōin 塔院 which, according to a model reconstruction kept in the Daibutsuden, once enclosed the lost pagoda of the Tōdaiji.

The Shui-lu ssü 水陸寺 (O) deserves special attention. This small shrine was, perhaps, originally independent, and was only afterwards included in the large K'ai-yuan Monastery of later days. We know that the votive pillar T1 of 1008 A.D. formerly belonged to this Shui-lu Shrine. The whole compound of these temples is situated to the "southwest of the prefect's residence". Whether this Shui-lu ssü is the same in which was found one of the two famous crosses published by Emmanuel Diaz, S.J., in 1644, remains uncertain. Cf. *M*, 78-80.

Plan iv Chinese map of Ch'uan-chou and surroundings, from the old edition of the *Ch'uan-chou fu chih* 泉州府志 (1612) in the British Museum (obtained through the kindness of Mr A C Moule) From this naïve wood engraving the legendary "carp" shape of the city plan can be seen, it inspired the later "professors of geomancy" to tell their fabulous and amusing story about the magic connection between this shape and the erection of the towers, cf *G*₁, III, 977, *G*₂, 92 The first city wall of Ch'uan-chou, however, built in 904-907 (i.e. about forty years after the erection of the first pagoda), enclosed only about one third of the present city, and not the K'ai-yuan Temple Thus first wall, the Tzū-ch'êng 子城, had the form of an ellipse with four gates at the cardinal points, north Ch'uan-shan Mên 泉山門, south Ch'ung-yang Mên 崇陽門, west Su-ch'ing Mên 肅清門, east Hsing-ch'un Mên 行春門 In 916 the Western Pagoda was erected for the first time, still in the western suburbs outside the Tzū-ch'êng In 943-958 was constructed the Lo-ch'êng 羅城, the famous Tz'ü-t'ung Wall 刺桐城 of the popular language, from which the name of "Zayton" is supposed to be derived⁶⁴ It was only through the wall constructions of the years 1230 and 1352 that the plan of Ch'uan-chou finally took on its "mysterious" shape of a fish

Plan v Map of Zayton Region, cf *K*, 28-33

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ICONOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

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By P. DEMÉVILLE

I ICONOGRAPHY

Trad means "Temple Tradition," i.e., the traditional identification of the figures, as recorded by the Rev Hsing yüan of the Kai-yüan Temple. In most cases this tradition is either doubtful or manifestly wrong, but as it sometimes proved to be correct and helpful, it has seemed advisable to mention all the identifications suggested by the Rev Hsing-yüan. They should, however, to a large extent be considered mere guesswork, particularly as regards the carvings of the upper stories, which in both pagodas have a marked character of lateness and corruption, both from the iconographical and from the artistic viewpoint.

The orientation of the bays is indicated by means of capital initials S (South), NW (Northwest), etc. For the carvings the same symbols are used as in the Introduction (see p 3, n 1). Thus E III 7(NW) will mean Eastern Pagoda, third story from the bottom, seventh carving from the south, northwestern bay.

The numbers between square brackets refer to the plates, the arrangement of which could not be strictly conformed to the actual order of the carvings on the pagodas (and in this text). The carvings for which no such reference is given are illustrated on the same plate as the last preceding carving for which a plate number is indicated in the text. e.g., there is a reference to pl 13 under W 1 1-2 (S) the following carvings, W 1 3 (SW) and 4 (SW), will also be found on pl 13.

The letter *T* is used to designate the Taishō edition of the Buddhist Scriptures in Chinese.

1 WESTERN PAGODA, STORIES I TO V

W 1

The four principal sides of this story (S, W, N, E) are occupied by pairs of Guardians (Chinese epigoni of the Vajrapāni or Lokapāla types), as in E 1 and v. On the intermediate faces are monks with halos, as in E II. The execution is of middling standard.

1-2(S) [pl 13] — Two Guardian-deities with long swords, entirely armoured (with coats of mail), same attitudes as E v 1-2, q v.

3(SW) — A monk with a halo, wearing earrings, his right hand resting on the head of a tiger. *Trad* 寶頭盧, Pindola, the name of the eighteenth Arhat according to some authorities, while others call him the Tiger-tamer. See under E II 4. Here the monk wears no cap.

4(SW) — A monk with a halo, holding a Ju-i sceptre with a Buddha

carved on it. *Trad.* wanting. In E III 8 a similar figure is said to be Fa-tsang.

5-6(w) [pl. 14]. — Two Vajra-holders, 5 with closed, 6 with open mouth. Cf. E v 5-6 (same position of the arms). *Trad.* assigns to them elaborate names, such as have been invented by the Chinese to distinguish between the various forms of the Vajrapāṇi type: 5 is called 青除災金剛, "Blue Vajra destroying calamities", and 6 辟毒金剛, "Vajra averting nuisances". The latter name is also used to designate one type of Vajra-Guardian by the Buddhists of Tonkin (whose religion is entirely derived from Southern China); cf. Dumoutier, *Cultes Annamites*, Hanoi, 1907, p. 33. These names are derived from such Tantric works as T. 1153, 1221, etc.

7(nw). — A monk with a halo, dressed in Indian fashion (breast and left forearm bare, sandals), holding in one hand a book-scroll and in the other the end of its tie. *Trad.* 優波離, Upāli, a disciple of Śākyamuni, who presided over the first Council. This identification is valueless. In E III 7 a similar figure is said to be Chih-i. Cf. also E II 13.

8(nw). — A monk with a halo, dressed in Chinese fashion, holding a rosary in his left hand and a fly-flap in the right. *Trad.* 僑梵鉢提, Gavāṃpati, the "Cowherd" monk. This identification is quite unfounded. Cf. E III 16 (Tao-hsuan).

9-10(n) [pl. 15]. — Two Guardian-deities with long swords, similar to 1-2 above. *Trad.* 守塔神王, "Divine kings protecting the pagoda".

11(NE). — P'u-hua 普化, the monk with the bell. See (p. 73 E III 3).

12(NE). — A monk with a halo, holding in his left hand a string of cash and giving one piece to a child with his right hand. In his left hand the child holds another piece hidden behind his back. Probably an iconographic type derived from some popular figure of Chinese hagiography, perhaps Pu-tai 布袋 or P'u-hua 普化, whose legends contain various allusions to cash (cf. E II 11; E III 3). Children holding (or wearing) cash are a common theme in the folklore and iconography of China (e.g., as acolytes of the God of Wealth, 財神; see Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, I, 17; and XI, fig. 271).

13-14(E) [pl. 20]. — Two Guardian-deities, fully armoured (with coats of mail) and helmeted. 13 holds a halberd; 14 holds a long sword and wears a lion-head helmet. *Trad.* Wei-ch'ih Kung 尉遲恭 and Ch'in Shu-pao 秦叔寶, the names of two generals who made themselves famous at the beginning

of the T'ang dynasty, and whose names were applied in modern times to the popular Gods of Doors. They appear in the tenth episode of the *Hsi yü chi* novel (see p. 71, under E II 8), keeping guard at the door of the palace in Ch'ang-an 長安 to protect Emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 against a demoniac dragon which troubled him at night. Our carving, however, does not agree with the text of the novel (Shanghai edition of 1921, X, 19), in which the two generals are said to be armed with spears and axes.

15(SE). — A monk with a halo, wearing a cap over head and shoulders, holding in his right hand a bowl, in his left hand a willow twig with a cloud and stūpa — or a Sukhāvātī lotus-seat (?). At his left is a child with bare head, dressed as a monk and holding a tin-staff (khakkhara); at his right, a child in lay garb, with child's hairdress, holding a flask. *Trad.* 施拜役者, "the Giver of Security", Abhayandada, one of the epithets of Avalokiteśvara. Might be a combination of the types of Kuan-yin and Ti-tsang? The latter often holds a bowl instead of the Fire-pearl, his usual attribute. See under W v 7, p. 38.

16(SE). — A bareheaded monk with a halo, his breast bare, his long ears adorned with rings. On his left hand he holds a bowl with a mass of fire; in his right hand, a pearl emitting a flame. This pearl is evidently the fire-pearl spat by the dragon; there should be a dragon in the mass of fire. Cf. E II 15 (p. 72), where the treatment of the figure is quite similar; also E III 5. *Trad.* 毘友, Nandimitra.

W II

Here we have pairs of Guardians on the four intermediate faces, while the principal faces are occupied by figures of monks, Bodhisattvas, etc. The execution is poor, particularly that of the Guardians.

1-2(s) [pl. 22]. — Han-shan and Shih-tê. See under E II 1-2, p. 69.

3-4(sw) [pl. 16]. — Two Vajra-holders, 3 with closed, 4 with open mouth; but entirely dressed, armoured and capped, like deities (which elsewhere never hold vajras). 4 has a Buddha in his headdress, though evidently not being a Bodhisattva. *Trad.* 哼哈二將. See under E I 1-2 and 5-6, pp. 66-67.

5(w) [pl. 22]. — A monk (dressed and booted in Chinese fashion) with a halo, his hands joined for worship. *Trad.* 道明尊者, "the venerable Tao-ming". An obscure Dhyāna monk of this name is mentioned as one of the

masters of Sêng-ch'ou 僧稠 in 續高僧傳, T. 2060, Ch. XVI, p. 553c. See also in A. Waley, *A Catalogue of Paintings recovered from Tun-huang*, pp. xxx-xxxii, the legend about another Tao-ming who went to hell. — Cf. E III 2 (Ānanda!).

6(w) [pl. 16]. — A figure with a halo, dressed like a prince or an official, and holding with both hands a ritual tablet (笏). *Trad.* 大辨長者, "the household-master (grhapati) Ta-pien". Ta-pien 大辨 (more correctly 大辯) is one of the Chinese names of the goddess Sarasvatī. This identification seems to be pure fancy. Might be Yama, King of the Dead?

7-8(nw). — Two Guardian-deities, entirely dressed, wearing flat helmets (?) and holding long swords. *Trad.* 鎮塔神將, "divine generals guarding the pagoda".

9-10(n). — Two Bodhisattvas standing on lotus-flowers; 9 is holding a lotus-stem (with flowers) shaped like a handle-censer, into which he is introducing a stick of incense; 10 holds a bell. *Trad.* 9: 香積菩薩, Gandhālaya Bodhisattva; 10: 妙音菩薩, Gadgadasvara Bodhisattva. Gandhālaya is the name of a Buddha, not of a Bodhisattva (see p. 41, under W v 15). The present identification seems to be erroneous. A monkish figure with the same attribute appears in W v 3. Gadgadasvara has a chapter of the *Saddharmapundarikasūtra* devoted to him; but he is not said to hold a bell.

11(ne). — An armoured Guardian-deity, with coat of mail, holding a sword. Attitude similar to E v 1, but with a different mudrā of the left hand. *Trad.* 散脂大將, "the great general Sañjaya", *alias* Pañcika, one of the Yakṣa generals who assist Vaiśramaṇa, the devarāja of the North (cf. *Hōbōgirin*, p. 80).

12(ne). — A god-like Guardian with a sword laid horizontally on his forearms. *Trad.*: the god Wei-t'o 韋馱天. Cf. E II 6; also E I 4.

13(e) [pl. 22]. — A figure wearing a kind of crown and holding a book bound in pothī fashion (cf. p. 76, E IV 8), with the Chinese title of the *Vajracchedikā* inscribed on it. *Trad.* Chao-ming t'ai tzū 昭明太子, the posthumous title of Hsiao T'ung 蕭統 (501-531 A.D.), the eldest son of Liang Wu-ti 梁武帝, famous as a patron of Buddhism and of literature.

14(e) [pl. 16]. — A monk with a round cap, holding a rod in his right hand, while his left is laid on the head of a tiger. *Trad.* the Worthy of Hua-lin, 華林尊者. See under E II 4, pp. 69-70.

15-16(SE). — Two Guardian-deities, entirely armoured (with coats of mail), holding long swords. The attitude and headdress of 15 are similar to those of E 14. *Trad.* 護戒將軍, "generals protecting the śīlas".

W III

The disposition of the figures in this story is similar to that of W II, but the execution is still worse.

1-2(s) [pl. 17]. — Two Vajra-holders. *Trad.* 白淨水金剛, "White Pure-water Vajra", and 黃隨求金剛, "Yellow Wish-granting Vajra". These names are also used by the Buddhists of Tonkin; cf. Dumoutier, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

3-4(sw). — Two monks with halos, wearing earrings (which suggest foreigners?). 3 is leaning on a long rod (cf. E II 12, III 12). 4 holds in his right hand a rectangular fan, while the fingers of his left hand emit a cloud with a pagoda. *Trad.* Fa-lan 法蘭 and Mo-t'êng 摩騰 (?); see under E, base, n° 26 (pp. 57-58).

5-6(w). — Two Guardians, one entirely dressed, holding a sword, the other with bare breast (?), holding a vajra. *Trad.* 護僧伽者, "Protector of the Saṅgha", and 護比丘者, "Protector of the monks".

7(nw) [pl. 23]. — Bodhidharma crossing the river on reeds. He has a halo and earrings; he is tucking up his clothing, and his sandals are fixed inside his belt. An inscription indicates the name of the saint and that of the believer who offered the carving, a lady named Lin who lived in front of the prefectural college of Ch'uan-chou (州學前界林氏五娘).

8(nw). — A monk with a halo and earrings, holding a censer with a handle (cf. E III 10). The inscription is similar to that of 7, but the figure is simply called "a worthy" (尊者一座).

9-10(N) [pl. 17]. — Two Guardians, entirely dressed but not armoured, with wing-shaped headdress, holding swords.

11(NE). — A monk with a halo, wearing earrings and holding a vajra. At his side there is an open cage out of which some birds are flying. *Trad.* Chih-k'ai 智愷大師, the name of the chief disciple of Paramārtha; obviously an error for Chih-i 智顗, on whom see p. 74, under E III 7. Chih-i is said to have instituted in China, on the authority of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (cf. E, base, n° 17 [p. 52]), the festivals for the release.

of living beings (such as birds), 放生會; see 佛祖統紀, T. 2035, Ch. VI, p. 183, and XXXIII, p. 322.

12(NE). — A monk holding a bowl and a tin-staff. *Trad.* Maudgalyāyana. Cf. W v 1, E III 14.

13-14(E) [pl. 23]. — Two Guardian-deities, entirely dressed; 13 holds an axe, 14 a bow and arrows. *Trad.* 鉞斧大將, "the great general with the axe", and 神弓大將, "the great general with the divine bow".

15-16(SE) [pl. 17]. — Two Bodhisattvas, one holding a flower, the other joining his hands while a child offers him a vase of flowers. *Trad.* Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī; highly doubtful.

W IV

Same disposition as in W II and in W III. On three of the principal faces there are Bodhisattvas (cf. E IV). Two of the figures are taken from the *Hsi yü chi* novel. Very poor execution.

1(s) [pl. 24]. — A figure clad in a coat with imperial embroideries (dragon, clouds, sun), wearing a cap with a chin-string, and holding a ritual tablet (笏). On the top of the tablet there is a rough triangle with a cross; on its right half, a (Buddha's?) figure with a halo, and on its left half the Chinese title of the *Prajñāpāramitāhrdayasūtra*, a text particularly popular in China, which plays an important part in the *Hsi yü chi* novel. Epigraph: Liang Wu-ti, "Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty" (reigned 502-549 A.D.), famous in Chinese Buddhism as he is associated with the legend of Bodhidharma. — Cf. E II 10; E IV 9.

2(s). — A monk with a halo. From his joined hands there proceeds a lotus-flower from which some petals are falling (?). In front of the figure is a plant with flowers. Inscription: 唐三藏, i.e. Hsuan-tsang 玄奘, the famous pilgrim. 唐三藏 is an abbreviation for 唐三藏法師, "the master of the Law of the Tripiṭaka, of the T'ang dynasty". It is by this abbreviation that Hsuan-tsang is popularly known in China (e.g., in the Sung novel mentioned below, p. 71). — The flower may be a Sukhāvātī lotus-seat.

3-4(sw) [pl. 18]. — Two Guardian-deities, entirely dressed and armoured, 3 holding long knives, 4 a sword. *Trad.* "Gods protecting the Law and the five śīlas".

5(w) [pl. 25]. — A Bodhisattva standing on lotus-flowers, wearing mustache and beard, having a Buddha's figure (Amitābha) in his head-

dress, and holding a flask and a willow twig *Trad* 觀音, Avalokiteśvara

6(w) [pl 18] — A Bodhisattva treated like 5, but holding a vajra (not a flower!) and a bell (not a flask!) *Inscription* 人勢王菩薩, Mahāsthāmāprīpta Cf E iv 3-4, p 76

7-8(vw) — Two Vajra-holders *Trad* 護呪金剛, "Vajras protecting the magical formulas"

9(v) — A Bodhisattva holding a rosary *Trad* 信相菩薩, "Faith-aspect Bodhisattva" (?) Same attitude as E iv 7 Cf under E iv 9 p 77

10(v) — A Bodhisattva holding a Jewel *Trad* 九明菩薩, "Radiance Bodhisattva" (?) Cf E iv 10

11(NE) [pl 26] — A Guardian with a monkey-head, holding with one hand a rosary which is hanging around his neck, and with the other a sword emitting a cloud from its tip. He wears a short tunic, travel sandals, and a rope-belt from which are hanging a calabash and a scroll with the Chinese title of the *Mahāmāyūrīdyāyājñī* (T 982-985 a text which was used as a charm against all calamities dangers, wounds, and diseases) *Trad* Sun Wu-k'ung 孫悟空, the name of the monkey assistant (*alias* the Monkey-attendant, 猴行者, or the fair Monkey-king, 美猴王, or the Great Saint Equal to Heaven, 齊天大聖) of Hsuan-tsang in the *Hsi yu chi* novel (see further p 71, E ii 8). In the upper right corner of the carving there is a small monk-figure with a halo, evidently Hsuan-tsang himself, appearing on a cloud, seemingly the same cloud is that which emanates from the monkey's sword. In the version of the *Hsi yu chi* now extant, the monkey assistant's weapon is not a sword but an iron rod with two golden rings, which he can reduce, whenever he finds it convenient, into a needle and so keep inside his ear. Also, he wears a tiger-skin over the lower part of his body, a detail which does not agree with our carving. See *Hsi yu chi*, Shanghai edition, episodes III, pp 4-7, and XIV, p 6

12(NE) [pl 24] — A figure dressed like a Guardian-deity, with a princely tiara. In the left hand the figure holds a ball, in the right hand, a spear from the tip of which a calabash is hanging. From the top of the calabash there emanates a cloud, on which a horse carrying on its saddle a lotus-flower (?) appears in the upper right corner of the carving. *Epigraph* 東海火龍太子. According to our present version of the *Hsi yu chi*, the name of this figure should be slightly different, as follows 西海王龍太子. The Dragon king of the Eastern Sea, 東海龍王, named Ao Kuang 敖廣, was the

person from whom the Monkey-attendant received his miraculous iron rod. This Dragon-king had three brothers, one of whom was the Dragon-king of the Western Sea, 西海龍王, by name Ao Jun 敖閼. This latter king had a son called Prince Jade-dragon, 王龍太子, who once committed the offence of setting a fire which consumed the luminous pearl placed on top of his father's palace (the epithet "fire" in our epigraph may be an allusion to this episode) The Dragon-king reported his son's offence to the Emperor of Jade, who sentenced the culprit to hang in the air awaiting capital punishment About this time Kuan-yin was busy preparing the journey of Hsuan-tsang to the West, and stationing all kinds of beings at various places in readiness to help the pilgrim on his way. It happened then that Kuan-yin met the unfortunate Dragon-prince hanging in the air, whereupon the Bodhisattva interceded on his behalf at the Court of Heaven and obtained his pardon, under the condition that the Dragon should help Hsuan-tsang during his pilgrimage The Dragon was now ordered by Kuan-yin to wait for the pilgrim at the bottom of a deep mountain-torrent (ep. VIII, p 13). In the fifteenth episode we read that when Hsuan-tsang reached this torrent, the Dragon failed to identify him, and devoured the white horse which the pilgrim had received (ep XII, p 23) from the Emperor T'ai-tsung The Monkey-attendant vainly attempted to recover the horse from the monster. It was necessary to call Kuan-yin, who explained the situation to the Dragon-prince. The latter appeared before the Bodhisattva under a human form, as in our carving. After removing a pearl which hung at the neck of the prince (see the ball in our carving), Kuan-yin sprinkled water on him with a willow twig, and transformed him into a white horse for the use of Hsuan-tsang. The miraculous horse was bare, and it was only later that an old temple-guardian, an incarnation of Kuan-yin, presented the pilgrim with the necessary riding equipment, a saddle, a bit, a bridle, etc. Our carving is certainly a representation of the Dragon-prince with the white horse, but the inscription and several details of the carving do not agree with the text of the novel as we now have it.

13-14(E) [pl. 18]. — The Bodhisattvas Sūryaprabha and Candraprabha Cf. E iv 15-16. Their identity is guaranteed by the sun and moon discs, and also by inscriptions But here they have attributes which seem purely fanciful: 13 is opening a scroll with the Chinese title of the *Saddharma-*

puṇḍarikasūtra, while 14 holds a Ju-i in one hand and a rosary in the other.

15-16(se). — Two Guardian-deities holding long swords. *Trad.* 鎮壇之神, "Gods guarding the terrace".

W v

In this story two of the principal faces (w and n) are occupied by pairs of Guardians, one (e) by a pair of attendants. On the other faces we have various figures, monks, attendants, Bodhisattvas, etc., all of whom have a popular character. The standard of execution is very low.

1(s) [pl. 19]. — A monk holding a bowl and a tin-staff; exactly similar to the figures E III 14 and W III 12, to which *Trad.* rightly assigns the name of Maudgalyāyana. Here, for some unjustifiable reason, *Trad.* has P'u-an 普安 (more correctly 普庵), the name of a monk who lived in the twelfth century A D. and became the object of a popular cult in temples of the Dhyāna Sect, particularly as a patron of sailors.

2(s). — A figure dressed as a Chinese official, holding in one hand a flask, in the other a piece of cloth. *Trad.* 執持巾瓶行者, "the attendant holding the towel and the bottle". In the Dhyāna Sect the term 行者, literally "one who practices" (the Way: ācārin), is used as a synonym of 侍者, "attendant", i.e. a lay novice attending to the abbot (方丈) of a temple. There are six kinds of such attendants, one of them being in charge of the towel and the water-bottle. Cf. *Bukkyō Daijiten*, 46b and 895a.

3(sw). — A monk with a halo, holding a stem of lotus shaped like a handle-censer, into which he is introducing a stick of incense. Same attribute as the Bodhisattva of W II 9. *Trad.* Master Hsiang-yen 香嚴大師. Hsiang-yen is the name of a mountain in Ho-nan province, and is also applied to a Dhyāna master of the T'ang dynasty, Chih-hsien 智閑禪師, who was connected with this mountain. In the biography of this monk there is an episode relating that he burned incense when he attained enlightenment (景德傳燈錄, T. 2076, p. 284). On the other hand, in the *Sūraṅga-masūtra* there is a boy who attains arhatship under the name of Hsiang-yen, the perfume of incense being compared to the purity of his mind (辭源, XI, 259).

4(sw). — A monk with a halo, holding a stūpa on his hands, which are covered with a piece of cloth. *Trad.* 闍婆尊者, "the Worthy of Kashmir". Cf. under E III 9, p. 74.

5-6(w) [poor condition; not reproduced]. — Two Guardian-deities with swords. *Trad.* 伏魔大神 and 降邪大神, "great deities subduing demons and expelling nefarious beings".

7(nw) [pl. 27]. — A woman seated on a rock, under a tree, reading a book. *Trad.* 孝女光日, "the pious daughter Kuang-jih", an error for Kuang-mu 光目, the name of a girl who, wishing to save her mother from the infernal condition into which she had fallen, made the vow (prañidhāna) of saving all living beings, thus becoming the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha (地藏); see De Visser, *The Bodhisattva Ti-tsang*, Berlin, 1915, pp. 8-9. But our carving looks rather like one of the popular forms of Avalokiteśvara, who is also presented as a pious daughter in some Buddhist legends of Southern China, relating how she descended to hell and transformed it into paradise (see Mendoga, *Historia . . . de la China*, 1585 A.D., quoted in *Sinica*, IX (1934), p. 58; De Groot, *Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Émoui (Amoy)*, I, p. 188 *et seq.*; Peri, *BEFEO*, XVII, 3, p. 72 *et seq.*; Dumoutier, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-32; E. T. C. Werner, *Myths and Legends of China*, pp. 251-287). This iconographic type of Kuan-yin is still very common in Fu-chien.

8(nw). — A monk with his pillow fixed inside his belt, holding on his shoulder a rod from which a small, withered body is hanging head and limbs downwards. *Trad.* 挑骨羅卜, "Lo-pu carrying bones". Lo-pu 羅卜 is the lay name given to Mu-lien 目連 (Maudgalyāyana), before his ordination as a monk, in the Chinese legend which relates how Mu-lien went to hell to save his mother Ch'ing-t'i 青提 (or 淸提, 靖提, etc.). This legend is the Buddhist form of the myth of the descent to hell, which was common to all the ancient world (J. Kroll, *Gott und Hölle, der Mythos vom Descensus-kampf*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1932). Its origin is to be found in various Indian texts, a synopsis of which is given by Akanuma, *Onomasticon*, pp. 378-379; but the characteristic theme of Mu-lien saving his mother from infernal damnation appears in a Chinese sūtra, *Yü-lan-p'ên ching* 盂蘭盆經 (*Arāṃbana-sūtra*, T. 685), said to have been translated at the end of the third century (French trsl. by Chavannes, *Dix inscriptions chinoises de l'Asie Centrale, Mém. Ac. Inscr. et B.-L.*, I, XI, 2, 1902, pp. 53-57). This theme is further developed, with the addition of various episodes and of new names apparently coined in China, Lo-pu, Ch'ing-t'i, etc., in the commentary of the *Arāṃbana-sūtra* by Tsung-mi 宗密, 780-841 A.D. (T. 1792, p. 509c, pretending to quote a sūtra). Mu-lien's legend was connected with the

Avalambana Festival of the Dead (孟蘭盆會), and has therefore remained very popular in all countries of the Far East down to the present day. This legend was turned into a regular Chinese novel, half in prose, half in verse (變文), several copies of which have been found in Tun-huang (a complete ms. dated 921 A.D., now in London, published in Japan as T. 2858; three fragments, now in Pei-p'ing, published by Hsiang Ta 向達 in *Bull. Nat. Libr. of Pei-p'ing*, V, 6, Nov.-Dec. 1931). Modern versions of this novel are still current in China; one of them, printed in Fu-chou in 1901 under the title: 目連三世救母寶卷, shows a striking similarity, both in contents and form, with the manuscript versions of Tun-huang — a remarkable example of conservation of popular literature for a millenium. An Annamite version has also been summarized by Dumoutier, *Cultes annamites*, pp. 23-27. The novel used to be dramatized, both in South China and Annam, by Buddhist monks or by lay players as a sort of "mystery" (De Groot, *Les fêtes . . .*, II, p. 415 *et seq.*). The identification of our carving with Mu-lien is likely to be correct; but the name of the figure should be Mu-lien and not Lo-pu, as he had already been ordained as a monk, with the name of Mu-lien, when he descended to hell. This figure provided a suitable counterpart to that of Kuan-yin or Ti-tsang (placed opposite, W v 7), who also went to hell to save damned beings. Instead of a rod, however, Mu-lien should hold a khakkhara, the magic stick by means of which he opened the doors of hell. The skeleton-like body hanging head and limbs downwards from the rod is probably an allusion to the term *tao-hsuan* 倒懸, "hanging upside down", which seems originally to have designated a special Chinese torture, and was used as a metaphor for extreme distress by Mencius (Legge, *Ch. Cl.*, vol. II, p. 60), becoming later a *locus classicus* in Chinese history (cf. *Tz'ü t'ung* 辭通 by Chu Ch'i-fêng 朱起鳳, Shang-hai, 1934, s.v., quoting several examples from the two *Han shu* and the *San kuo chih*). This term was finally applied by Buddhist writers to the tortures of hell, being interpreted as an equivalent of the Sanskrit word *avalambana* (only known with this value from the Chinese transcription, *yu-lan-p'ên*). The skeleton in our carving may represent either Mu-lien's mother, of whom it is said in the *Avalambana-sūtra* that, for want of food and drink, she was nothing but skin and bone (皮骨連立), or any of the other beings which Mu-lien delivered from hell together with his mother. In the Tun-huang version of the legend, we read that these beings have to endure such torments on the

Mountain of Knives and the Tree of Spades that their limbs are all torn to pieces: "their skulls are crushed, their bones and flesh are smashed, their muscles and skin are broken"; and when Mu-lien meets his mother, she cannot walk upright as "her spine and loins no longer retain her entrails"; she has been scorched by an iron plow in such a way that "her bones, joints, muscles and skin are torn everywhere" (T. 2858, pp. 1310-1311). In the miracle-play of Amoy, as analyzed by De Groot, she is just thrown into a cauldron of boiling water when her son sees her, and as the demonic executioners take her out with a fork, her body is all burnt, "dried up and drawn together". All these details agree with our carving, although no version of the legend asserts that Mu-lien himself carried away from hell the body of his mother.

9-10(N) [pl. 19]. — Two Guardian-figures, entirely clad but not armoured, one holding a banner, the other a tablet (or a tube, cf. W v 13). *Trad.* 執旗大將, "the great general holding the banner", and 持令神將, "the divine general holding the (tablet or tube of) command".

11 [pl. 27]-12(NE) [pl. 19]. — Two Bodhisattvas standing on lotus-flowers. N° 11 holds a scroll with his left hand, while his right hand is performing a mudrā; *Trad.* 東北方菩薩, "Bodhisattva of the North-Eastern region". N° 12 holds with the left hand a rosary, with the right a rectangular fan; *Trad.* 清涼菩薩, "the Bodhisattva (of) Ch'ing-liang". According to the *Avatamsakasūtra*, the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī resides in the North-Eastern region (東北方) on a mountain called Ch'ing-liang 清涼. The Chinese Buddhists identify this mountain with the Wu-t'ai shan 五台山 in the province of Shan-hsi 山西. A similar pair of Bodhisattvas, one holding a book (the classical attribute of Mañjuśrī), the other a rosary, is found on the Eastern Pagoda (E iv 7-8). In E ii 1-2, Han-shan and Shih-tê, probably as incarnations of Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, also have the same attributes. The present figures are likely to be meant for Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra; these two appear with entirely different attributes in E iv 1-2, but we must reckon with a variety of iconographical traditions (compare Mahāsthāmaprāpta, also represented by two different types, W iv 6 and E iv 4).

13 [pl. 19] -14(E) [pl. 27]. — Two lay figures with boyish headdresses (double hair-knot). 13 holds a tube; *Trad.* 持令神童, "divine boy holding the (tube containing a) command" (cf. above W v 10). 14 holds a large

rectangular seal wrapped in cloth; *Trad.* 拈印神童, "divine boy holding the seal".

15(SE) [pl. 19]. — A Bodhisattva holding a bowl full of rice. *Trad.* 香積飯菩薩. The correct name should be 香飯菩薩, "the Bodhisattva with perfumed rice". According to the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, when Vimalakīrti wished to offer a meal to the Buddha Śākyamuni and his disciples, he created by metamorphosis a Bodhisattva and sent him to the Buddha named Gandhālaya (香積佛) in the world of All Perfumes (眾香世界). There the Bodhisattva received from Gandhālaya perfumed bowls containing an inexhaustible quantity of perfumed rice (香飯). He brought the rice back to Vimalakīrti, who offered it to his holy guests. (With reference to this story the kitchen or the food of monks in Chinese monasteries is called 香積.) For the restitution of 香積 into Gandhālaya, see Hsuan-ying's Glossary, 玄應一切經音義, Ch. III.

16(SE) [pl. 19]. — A Bodhisattva holding a flower in a vase. *Trad.* 寶公華菩薩, "the Bodhisattva with the precious Udumbara flower" (?). Cf. E IV 6, p. 76

2. BASE OF THE EASTERN PAGODA

[PLATES 32-41]

1

Inscription: 童子求偈, "the boy (kumāra) asking for the stanza (gāthā)". Cf. *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, T. 375, Ch. XIV, pp. 691-693 (or T. 374, Ch. XIV, pp. 449-451): In a former existence the Bodhisattva was a brahmin who practised the austerities in the Himalaya. Indra appeared before him in the form of an ogre (Rākṣasa) and recited the first half of the famous stanza which in Pāli runs as follows:

Aniccā vata saṅkhārā, uppāḍavaya dhammino;
Uppajitvā nirujjhanti, tesam rūpasamo sukho.

The brahmin asked for the second half, but the ogre made him promise that after having heard it he would give him his body as food. When the second half had been recited, the brahmin climbed on a tree and threw himself down towards the ogre; the latter, resuming his form as Indra, took him up before he had reached the ground, and worshipped him. In our carving the brahmin is just going to throw himself from the tree. The deity standing on a cloud and holding what seems to be a vajra looks like Vajrapāṇi, but is evidently Indra, of whom the ogre was a manifestation. According to the sūtra, the brahmin should be clad in deer-skin, which does not seem to be the case in the carving. The epithet 童子 (kumāra), "the boy", does not appear in the text of the sūtra; but it may correctly be applied to the brahmin, who was a student going through his course or period of austerity. This epithet is still applied to the hero of our story in Japan; see *Bukkyō Dayūten* of Oda Tokunō 織田得能 (Tōkyō, 1917), p. 1031, which designates him either as 雪山童子 or as 雪山大士, the term 大士, mahāsattva (?), being used in the sūtra both by the brahmin and the ogre in addressing each other. There is an allusion to this jātaka (among other jātakas) in the 大乘本生心地觀經, T. 159, Ch. I, p. 294a. According to Hsuan-tsang (Watters, *Travels*, I, p. 231), the scene was localized in Haḍḍa (Afghanistan). The same episode is painted on the Tamamushi shrine, 玉蟲厨子, dating from the reign of Suiko 推古 (593-628), which is preserved in the Gilt Hall (金堂) of the Hōryūji 法隆寺 near Nara (Japan).

Inscription: 青衣獻花, "the servant (literally clad in blue, blue clothes being those of slaves and humble people in China; cf. T. 2121, Ch. XLVI, p. 238b) offering flowers". When the future Śākyamuni Buddha, born as a brahmin student, wished to make an offering of flowers to the Buddha Dīpaṃkara, he met a girl from the royal palace who, after some negotiation, sold him five lotus-flowers, and gave him two in addition, against the promise that she should be his wife in their future births. This jātaka appears as the beginning of most of the Buddha's biographies, because it was from Dīpaṃkara that the future Śākyamuni received the prophecy (vyākaraṇa) that he would become a Buddha: 修行本起經, T. 184, Ch. I, p. 462a; 太子瑞應本起經, T. 185, Ch. I, pp. 472-473; 異出菩薩本起經, T. 188, p. 617; 過去現在因果經, T. 189, Ch. I, pp. 620c-622a; 佛本行集經 (*Mahāvastu*), T. 190, Ch. II, pp. 666-667; 四分律 (*Dharmaguplaka-vinaya*), T. 1428, Ch. XXXI, p. 785a; cf. also 六度集經 translated in Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, n° 83. According to all these sources, the Bodhisattva, who is called either a student, 儒童, or a brahmin student, 梵志儒童, a brahmin boy, 梵志童子 (*Māṇava[kal]*), or again an anchorite, 仙人 (*ṛṣi*), should be clad in deer-skin (in T. 190 and T. 1428, however, this point is not specified), and the girl should hide her flowers in a vase. But in our carving the student is dressed as a Chinese gentleman, and the girl hides her flowers behind her back, holding them in her left hand. With her right hand she makes a gesture of refusal, while the student is getting a string of cash from his servant. The scene is in front of a gate which may be the gate either of the royal city (in agreement with T. 190), or of the royal palace. It is only in T. 189 and T. 190 that the girl receives the epithet "clad in blue". The carving seems to be inspired from the text of T. 190. — Cf. Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, I, 274, and fig. 139; Le Coq, *Choï'scho*, pl. 23; Chavannes, *Mission*, II (text), 590, and figs. 432 and 1727a (engraved stone from Ho-nan, dated 543 A.D.); further bibliography in Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, IV (to be published in *Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises*, Paris, 1935), 134-136, and in Akanuma Chizen 赤沼智善, *Onomasticon of Indian Buddhism* 印度佛教固有名詞辭典, Nagoya, 1931, p. 657.

Inscription: 兜率來儀, "the solemnity of the coming from Tuṣita". Māyā dreaming that the Bodhisattva, coming from the Tuṣita heaven as a white six-tusked elephant, enters her womb from the right side. In the carving Māyā is resting with her left side on the table, so that her right side is free in accordance with tradition (cf. Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, I, 293; Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, I, 380, n. 1; also a special explanation in the Chinese version of the *Lalitavistara*, T. 186, Ch. II, p. 491b). The elephant has on its back what seems to be a cloud supporting a disc. According to the 太子瑞應本起經, T. 185, p. 473b, the elephant carried on its head "the solar essence", 冠日之精; in the 佛本行經, T. 193, Ch. I, pp. 57-58, the Bodhisattva riding on the elephant is compared to "the luminous pearl of the sun", 日精之明珠; and the queen states that "sun-light has entered her womb", 日光明入腹; all the authorities mention that a brilliant light emanated from the elephant: T. 184, p. 463b; T. 186, p. 491 (the light emanated from its neck, its head, and its eyes); T. 187, p. 548c. Next to the elephant a figure holds a banner, while a god is offering to Māyā incense in an incense-burner (?): according to T. 189, p. 624b, cols. 5-6, when the elephant descended from Tuṣita, Indra, Brahmā, and all the gods held banners (幢, dhvaja), burnt incense, etc. (also T. 184, p. 463b). However, it may be that the offering made to Māyā is not incense, but food; we read that as soon as she became pregnant, the gods provided her with food (T. 189, etc.). The left god is probably Brahmā, the right one Indra; compare E, base, n° 11. According to T. 189 and T. 193, the Bodhisattva did not appear to his mother as an elephant, but as riding on an elephant; but the other texts specify that he had transformed himself into an elephant, although T. 184 and T. 185 — the two earliest biographies of the Buddha in Chinese, translated about 200 A.D. — are somewhat ambiguous and might have been intentionally altered, as it was a point of dogmatic controversy to know whether a Bodhisattva can or cannot be reborn into the animal condition.

Inscription: 兜率誕聖, "the auspicious event of the birth in the Lumbini garden in Kapilavastu". 兜率 is an abbreviation, still usual in Japan, for 兜率天 and 兜率陀尼國. The newborn Bodhisattva is seen standing in a

BASE OF THE EASTERN PAGODA

washbasin, raising his left and lowering his right hand. According to tradition, at his birth he was taken up by Indra (T 190, p 687, Hsuan-tsang, Watters, II, 14, Fa-hsien, Giles, p 38, Rockhill, *Life*, p 16), or by Brahmā (Hackin, *Scènes figurées*), or by Indra and Brahmā (T 187, p 553v), or by the four Devarājas (T 189, p 625), who had previously covered their hands with precious cloth (kṛśikā) see the god kneeling on one side with his hands covered, probably Indra, while the other god is Brahmā. After that, according to tradition, he walked seven steps in the four (or six) cardinal directions, raising one hand and declaring "I alone am most venerable above in heaven and below heaven," etc. The hand he raised was the right one (T 185, p 473c, T 189, p 625, etc.), not the left one as in our carving. Wherever he had put down his foot, a lotus appeared see the lotus flowers on each side of the basin. From the air two Nāgarājas (T 184, p 463c, T 187, p 554c, T 189, Hsuan-tsang, but nine according to T 186, p 494, while the other texts do not mention the Nāgarājas) let flow on him two streams of water, one cold, one hot, and the gods bathed him (T 186, 187). The ablution took place on a golden stool (T 184, 185), or in two pools (T 190) or springs (Hsuan tsang), not in a basin as in the carving. According to T 184, it was only after the ablution that Indra and Brahmā wrapped him up in heavenly cloth, a variant which seems to agree with our carving.

5

Inscription 太子出遊, "the Prince's outing." The Bodhisattva is seen meeting an old man (generally counted as the first of the four meetings). He is followed by an attendant holding his saddled horse, although according to most authorities his outings were made in a car (T 184, pp 466-467, T 185, pp 474-475, T 186, pp 502-503, T 187, pp 570-571, T 188, p 618, T 190, pp 719-724). According to T 189, pp 629-631, however, he was driven in a car for the first three outings, but for the fourth one he rode a horse. Cf Chavannes, *Mission*, I, pl cvii, n° 207, where the Bodhisattva is riding a horse.

6

Inscription 沙門子相, "the Monk (śramana) manifesting his appearance." Fourth of the four meetings. Here all figures have their feet hidden in clouds, which evidently implies supernatural circumstances. All texts agree in stating that not only the monk, but also the old man, the

invalid, and the corpse were miraculous manifestations of a deity (either a Śuddhāvāsadeva, T. 184, 187, 189, or Indra, T. 185, 188, or others, T. 186, 190). According to T. 187, p. 571a, and T. 189, p. 632a, the dialogue which the Bodhisattva had with the monk was not heard by the Bodhisattva's attendant, and the latter text adds that when the dialogue was ended the monk disappeared miraculously into the air. It may be that our carving is inspired from this text; note that in this scene the attendant is looking aside and apparently takes no part in the meeting.

7

Inscription: 逾城出家, "jumping over the city-wall he forsakes his home". A trail of cloud shows that the Bodhisattva, with his horse and attendant (Chandaka, holding a whip and with his hair dressed as in the previous scenes), has crossed right over the wall. This agrees with T. 185, p. 475b, and T. 188, p. 619b (also Hsuan-tsang, *Watters*, II, 2, and Yun-kang carving, Chavannes, *Mission*, pl. cxi), but not with the other authorities, which make him pass through one (or two) doors, though uplifted from the ground by the four Devarājas or by other deities (T. 184, p. 468; T. 186, p. 507a; T. 187, p. 575c; T. 189, p. 633a; T. 190, p. 731c). In our carving the Bodhisattva is still riding, but he has already given one of his pieces of clothing to the hunter whose kāśāya he is going to receive in exchange. In fact he should by now have already alighted from his horse and have cut his hair.

8

Inscription: 雪山苦行, "the austerities in the Himalaya". A figure clad in leaves, as befits an ascetic, and wearing very long hair down its back, is kneeling on a bridge thrown over a stream and is worshipping an anchorite wearing the brahmanic hair-knot (?) and holding a stem of some herb or grain (probably his food). A sleeping lion indicates that we are in the wilderness, and also that ascetics tame their passions. Half hidden in a cave there is a figure with its hair dressed in lay fashion, also clad in leaves and holding a stalk of grain. The sitting anchorite is evidently one of the Rṣis whom the Bodhisattva visited in quest of a doctrine. The kneeling figure can be no other than the Bodhisattva himself, and the figure in the cave may be either his faithful Chandaka, who according to T. 189, p. 639a, secretly attended him during these years, or one of the gods who pro-

vided him with food (ib, p 638b, also T 181, p 469b), one grain of rice or hemp-seed was the daily food of the Bodhisattva during his austerities. The stream might be the Nairañjanī river, near which three Brahmacārins resided with their disciples, they were called upon by the Bodhisattva, but on this occasion he had no bridge to cross the river the gods dried it up to make way for him (T 185, p 476c)

9

Inscription 牧女獻糜, "the cowherd-girls offering rice-milk." The Bodhisattva is sitting under a tree, on a grass-seat, ending his six years of austerity and meditation. Two cowherd-girls are coming towards him, one is holding a bowl, and before her a lotus-flower has sprung up miraculously (as implied by the trail of clouds supporting the flower). Elements drawn from various texts seem to be combined in this carving. According to all Chinese biographies of the Buddha, the offering of rice-milk (carving n° 9) and the throwing away of the bowl (carving n° 10) occurred *after* the bath in the Nairañjanā (carving n° 11), while here the order is reversed. It is true that according to T 187, pp 583-584, the Bodhisattva bathed twice first in a pool created for him by Indra (p 583b), and then in the Nairañjanā, after having received the rice-milk, but before eating it and throwing away the bowl. But in this text he receives the rice-milk not under his tree, but at the home of the girl in Uruvilvā. Similarly, according to T 190, pp 765-772, he bathed first in warm water which had been presented to him by other girls, and later on in the Nairañjanī, after having received, in Uruvilvā, the rice-milk which he ate after his bath. As to the two cowherd-girls, they do not appear in the canonical biographies, the only authority seems to be Hsuan-tsang (Watters, II, 126). T 189, p 639, mentions one single cowherd-girl (牧牛女), called Nandabalī. According to T 190, p 770, there were two girls, Nandā and Balā, but far from being cowherd girls they were the daughters of a powerful brahmin, named Senanāya (?), who had a fief near Uruvilvā, and the food they offered to the Bodhisattva was not rice-milk, this was offered later on by Sujatā, the daughter of the chief of a village named Nandika (p 765), or as stated in another passage by the two daughters of this village-chief (p 771b). There was also a shepherd-girl (牧羊之女), who offered sheep-milk (p 771a). The rice-milk was offered and received in Uruvilvā and the bath took place be-

fore the meal (p. 772). According to T. 184, pp. 469–470, the offering was made by the two daughters of a ṛṣi named Sena, near the Sena river. T. 185, p. 479, states that the rice-milk was offered to the Bodhisattva, sitting under his tree, by the daughter of a household-master (grhapati); but she ordered a servant to carry it to the Bodhisattva on her head, which does not agree with our carving. In T. 186, pp. 511–512, the offering is made by a single girl, also the daughter of a household-master; at the moment of the offering the Bodhisattva is sitting on a stool (床) offered by a nāgī, not on a seat of grass as in our carving (in T. 190, p. 772a, the seat offered by the nāgī is called 筌提, sanskrit [ā]sandi; in T. 189, p. 639c, it is a seat of grass). The lotus-flower in our carving is probably an allusion to the dream which, according to T. 184, p. 469, incited the two daughters of Sena to make their offering: they saw in dream a flower losing its colour, but as a man watered it it became fresh again. Or also, according to T. 189, p. 639b, when the cowherd-girl Nandabalā was asked by a Śuddhavāsadeva to offer food to the Bodhisattva, a lotus shot up before her, and on its leaves was rice-milk which she took and offered to the Bodhisattva.

10

Inscription: 天王爭鉢, “the divine king (devarāja) striving for the bowl (pātra)”. A dragon (nāga) and a bird (garuḍa) are seen contending for a bowl floating on waves. On a cloud appears a figure which can be no other than the devarāja Vaiśramaṇa with his classical attributes, the spear and the stūpa (the banner instead of the spear is a modern — Lamaistic — tradition in China: see *Hōbōgirin*, p. 83). Two episodes of the Buddha’s biography are again combined in this carving. After his meal of rice-milk, the Bodhisattva threw the bowl into the river (Nairāñjanā); it floated up against the current for seven miles, and was then taken by a nāgarāja (T. 185, p. 479, Mucilinda; T. 187, p. 584; T. 190, p. 772) or by a nāgī (T. 186, p. 512); but according to T. 187 and T. 190, Indra transformed himself into a garuḍa, the traditional opponent of the nāga, seized the bowl away from the nāga and took it up to his heaven to worship it (T. 184, p. 470, mentions only Indra-Garuḍa, not the nāga). It was on a later occasion, when two merchants made an offering of food, that the four Devarājas, Vaiśramaṇa and the others, offered four bowls to the Bodhisattva (or according to most texts to the Buddha), who transformed

them into a single bowl. Our carvers have evidently conflated the two episodes

11

Inscription. 逆河浴浴, "the bath in the Nairañjanā". The Bodhisattva is seen bathing in the river, with a canopy above his head, and flowers falling towards the river, some floating on the water. On each side of him are two gods, evidently Brahmā on the left, figured as a king (compare Aśoka in E, base, 21, Mahā-Brahmā is the king of the gods, 大梵天王), and Indra on the right, holding a banner (?). The Bodhisattva has his head shaved, but no uṣṇīṣa, which is quite orthodox, as he has cut his hair when leaving his palace, but is not yet a Buddha. Cf T 186, p 512b, T. 187, p 583, T 190, p 772 during the bath the gods strewed fragrant flowers on the water.

12

Inscription. 道樹降魔, "the subduing of the demon (Māra) under the tree of enlightenment (bodhidruma)". The only authority for this scene seems to be a story from an extra-canonical work, the 雜寶藏經, T 203, Ch VII, p 481 (also quoted in 法苑珠林, T 2122, Ch XI, p 368). When the Bodhisattva, sitting under the bodhidruma, was attacked by Māra, the latter threatened to pull him by his feet and throw him "outside of the seas". Then the Bodhisattva took to witness the earth, the goddess of the earth appeared and bore witness to him. The Bodhisattva pointed to a water-flask (深瓶, kuṇḍikā) and told Māra that he should first try to move this flask, only after that would he be able to pull away the Bodhisattva. Māra and his acolytes attempted vainly to move the flask, they fell right over, and flew away. In the carving we see the flask standing on an old tree-stump, its form is exactly that of the kuṇḍikā still used in the Buddhist ritual in Japan (cf 密教法具便覽, Tōkyō, 1917, fig 22). The two demons have horns, with bristling tufts of hair (?) behind each horn (compare carving n° 38), exactly the same type of hairy wings is found in the frescoes of Turfan, see Le Coq, *Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, IV (*Atlas der Wandmalereien*), fig 19. The apparition of the earth-goddess is mentioned in several biographies of the Buddha, T 187, pp 594-595, T 190, p 791, T 193, p 67b she bore testimony to the Bodhisattva, offered him flowers contained in a flask made of the seven precious substances (saptaratnakundikā, 七寶瓶), and stirred up a tremendous earth-

quake which caused Māra and his acolytes to fall over and scatter. But the episode of the attempt to throw over the kuṇḍikā seems to be extra-canonical. It may be noted that one of the compilers of T. 203, the work in which we find this episode which was so fit to be translated into imagery, was T'an-yao 曇曜 (fifth century), the initiator of the cave-sculptures of Yun-kang. At the left side of our carving, we see a sword, an arrow (?), and a lotus-flower floating in the air. This is probably an allusion to the following texts: T. 187, p. 594, the swords and arrows thrown towards the Bodhisattva stopped in the air, and from the arrow-heads there sprouted lotus-flowers; T. 189, p. 640, the knives and swords stopped in the air and became five-coloured flowers; also Hsuan-tsang, Watters, II, 135.

Here ends the set of carvings devoted to the biography of the Bodhisattva. To sum up what has been said above, we may state that the carvers did not follow any particular canonical text; nor is it likely that they made use of a Chinese anthology of canonical texts such as the Ming compilation translated by Wiegner (*Vies chinoises du Bouddha*). They worked from memory, or rather after some (pictorial?) model which itself did not adhere systematically to any ready-made literary canon.

13

Inscription: 錫解闘虎, "the parting of fighting tigers (by throwing) the tin-staff (khakkhara)". This scene is taken literally from the biography of a Chinese monk, Sêng-ch'ou 僧稠 (480-560 A.D.); see 續高僧傳, T. 2060, Ch. XVI, p. 554a. A similar story is also related of his disciple T'an-hsun 曇詢, *ib.*, p. 559a Cf. below, pp. 69-70, 72-73.

14

Inscription: 鉢降火龍, "subduing the fire-dragon (nāga) into the bowl (pātra)". This is the well-known episode of the conversion of Kāśyapa of Uruvilvā, the fire-worshipper. The Buddha entered into fire-radiance ecstasy and performed the miracle of forcing a fire-dragon into his bowl. The Buddha is seen sitting in the cave which was the home (or sanctuary) of the fire-dragon. On the left Kāśyapa is kneeling. References in Hackin, *Scènes figurées*, n° 27. See also below under E II 15-16, pp. 72-73.

Inscription: 薄荷示跡, "Po-ho (Mint) revealing himself". A pig is standing before a monk who is showing a scroll with some inscription. The monk wears a cushion inside his girdle, as in many of our carvings. Behind the pig a butcher has let his knife fall at his feet; his hands are joined for worship. Behind the monk stands a man — evidently his servant — carrying a long rod with something hanging from its top (the khakkhara of the monk?). This carving illustrates the following story: A monk named Pien-ts'ung 辨聰 had been on a visit to the Wu-t'ai shan 五臺山; on the eve of his departure from the mountain, an old monk gave him a letter, asking him to hand it over to a person called Po-ho 勃賀 in the city of Lo-yang. But Pien-ts'ung vainly looked for such a person in Lo-yang. One day he saw a butcher driving a pig which was called Po-ho; the butcher explained that the pig had received this name because it liked to feed on mint (po-ho 薄荷, *Mentha arvensis*). The monk then threw the letter to the pig, which gulped it down and then immediately stood up like a man and thus passed away. The meaning is that the pig was a Bodhisattva who had been born as an animal in order to save his fellow beings in the animal condition; the letter sent by the old monk of the Wu-t'ai shan enjoined him to quit this condition. This story is quoted in a compendium of Buddhist Mirabilia recently compiled by two Chinese laymen, Nieh Yün-t'ai 聶雲臺 and Hsü Chih-ching 許止淨, and published in 1929 (歷史感應統紀, Ch. II, p. 65b). The quotation is from the *Tung wei chih* 洞微志, a book written about 1000 A.D. by a Buddhist scholar of the Sung dynasty, Ch'ien I 錢易 (see 宋史, Ch. 206, p. 3b, and Ch. 317, p. 5a). The story itself, however, is said to go back to the Sui dynasty (581–617 A.D.). This identification is due to the kindness of Mr. Lin Li-kuang 林藜光, Instructor in Chinese at the School of Oriental Languages in Paris.

Inscription: 乳光受記, "the prophecy (vyākaraṇa) concerning (the Buddha named) Milk-radiant". This episode is taken from a short sūtra of which two versions are extant in Chinese, a shorter one entitled 犢子經, T. 808 (also quoted in T. 2121, Ch. XV, p. 81a), and a longer one entitled 乳光佛經, T. 809. The Buddha feeling ill needed milk and sent Ānanda to

beg some from a rich brahmin (named 摩耶利, T. 809). The brahmin directed Ānanda to milk a cow himself. But the cow was ill-tempered and Ānanda did not dare to approach it. Indra appeared as a young brahmin and proceeded to milk it. The cow became quite gentle, but asked Indra to milk only two of its udders, leaving the other two for its calf. But the calf offered its own portion, and a full bowl of milk was thus provided for the Buddha. Thereupon the Buddha prophesied that the cow would become a disciple of Maitreya and an Arhat, while the calf would become a Tathāgata named Milk-radiant. In our carving the cow and her calf are seen kneeling on a litter, while Indra dressed as a noble is speaking to Ānanda, who holds a bowl.

17

Inscription: 流水活魚, "Jalavāhana keeping alive the fish". This carving illustrates the chapter of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* entitled: *Jalavāhana-matsya-vaineya* (Burnouf, *Introduction*, pp. 475-476), a text particularly famous in the Far East as it is regarded as the canonical authority for the institution of festivals for the release of living beings (放生會); T. 663, Ch. IV, p. 352; T. 664, Ch. VII, pp. 395-396; T. 667, Ch. IX, pp. 448-450; also quoted in T. 2121, Ch. XXXVI, pp. 192-193. Jalavāhana (literally "water-carrier", or according to the Chinese translation "causing the water to flow") was a layman who excelled in healing all beings. Once he saw in a lake many thousands of fish on the point of dying because a fisherman, in order to catch all the fish, had stopped the flow of the river which supplied the lake with water. Seized with pity, Jalavāhana began by climbing on a nearby tree to cut some branches and leaves which he threw on the water to give shade to the fish. Then he borrowed twenty elephants from the king, and got them to carry water to the lake in leather-bags which he borrowed from a wine shop. Thus he was able to refill the lake. Afterwards he got food for the fish from his own home, and finally entered into the water to give the fish "the food of Law", i.e., a sermon on the Law. Our carvers have followed the versions T. 663 or T. 665, almost identical with each other, and not T. 664, which translates Jalavāhana by 持水 instead of 流水. The text has been adhered to closely: we see the leather-bag on the elephant, the branches with their leaves falling from a tree, and some fish "turning up their bodies on the point of entering the gate of death" (將入死門旋身婉轉).

Inscription 丘井狂象, "the empty well and the mad elephant" There are at least four versions of this story (1) in 寶頭盧突羅闍爲優陀延王說法經, T 1690, p 787, (2) in 衆經撰雜譬喻經, T 208, Ch I, p 533, (3) in 佛說譬喻經, T 217, p 801, (4) in 經律異相 A fifth version, in which the man is saved by a Deva, is quoted in T 2121, Ch XLV, pp 223c-224a The second and the fourth have been translated by Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, n° 205 and n° 469 Our carvers seem to have followed the first version, which alone contains the expression 丘井 used in our epigraph (the other versions have 堽井 and 空井) The second and the third versions are slightly different from the first, while the fourth diverges widely A man walking in the jungle (says the first version) was pursued by a ravenous elephant Availing himself of a hanging root, he entered into an empty well to hide himself But a black and a white rat gnawed at the root, on the four sides of the well there were four venomous snakes, and a venomous dragon was lurking at its bottom As he was shaking at the tree to which he was hanging, three drops of honey fell into his mouth The tree shook so much that the bee-hive was destroyed, and the bees started stinging him And to crown it all, a jungle-fire threatened to burn the tree Then follows the explanation of the apologue the jungle is like transmigration (samsāra), the man is like a profane, a vulgar unbeliever (prthagjana), the elephant is like impermanence (anityatā), the well is like the human body (cf *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, T 475, p 539b, where the body is compared to 丘井, i e, according to Kumārajīva's commentary, to a sterile hill and a dried-up well, but one of the meanings of 丘 is "empty", 空也), the root is like human life (jīva), the black and white rats are like nights and days, the gnawing at the root is like the instantaneous destruction of each of our thoughts, the four venomous snakes are like the four elements (mahābhūta), the honey is like the [object of the] five desires, the bees are like wrong ideas (literally wicked enlightenments), the jungle-fire is like old age, the dragon underneath is like death The heads of three snakes are visible in the carving Two rats are gnawing at the "hanging root" of the tree (a banyan) just above the man Two bees are flying right and left under the branch of the banyan This story is well-known in the medieval literature and imagery of Europe See *Legenda*

Aurea, Barlaam and Josaphat (T. de Wyzewa, *La Légende Dorée*, p. 668); also a wooden carving (fourteenth century) from the pulpit of the Cathedral of Ferrara, now kept at the Museo della Cattedrale, Ferrara (with a unicorn instead of the elephant). Other references in Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, IV, 158, 235-238.

19

Inscription: 三獸渡河, "the three quadrupeds crossing the river". The doctrine of the twelve causes being compared to the water of the Ganges, the hare which crosses the river by merely swimming on its surface, without knowing the depth of the water, is like the hearer or disciple (*śrāvaka*); the horse, which only partly touches the bottom, is like the individual, egoistic Buddha (*pratyekabuddha*); the elephant, never getting out of its depth during the whole crossing, is like the real Buddha-Tathāgata. *Abhidharmamahāvibhāsā*, 阿毗達磨大毗婆沙, T. 1545, Ch. CXLIII, p. 735b; *Upāsakaśīlasūtra*, 優婆塞戒經, T. 1488, Ch. I, p. 1038b

20

Inscription: 三車出宅, "the three cars to get out of the house". The Three Vehicles (*Triyāna*) of Buddhism are compared to three cars (*ratha*) which a father (the Buddha) puts at the door of a burning house (the three-fold world) to entice his sons (all living beings) out of the fire (of suffering). The first car (*śrāvaka-yāna*) is drawn by a goat (*aṇa*); the second car (*pratyekabuddha-yāna*) is drawn by a deer (*mṛga*); the third car (*bodhisattva-yāna*) is drawn by an ox (*go*). *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, T. 262, Ch. II, pp. 12-13 (Burnouf, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 47-53).

21

Inscription: 育王遷善, "king Aśoka impelled towards good". The conversion of Aśoka. The king had established a prison in which criminals were submitted to the tortures of hell. Once a monk was thrown into the boiling cauldron of the prison; but the water became miraculously cool, and the monk was seen sitting above it on a lotus-flower. The king then entered the prison, whereupon the monk rose up into the air and exhibited various miracles. Aśoka was converted, destroyed the prison, and proceeded to prepare the erection of 84,000 stūpas. T. 99, Ch. XXXIII, p. 164;

T. 2042, Ch. I, p. 101; T. 2043, Ch. I, p. 134; T. 2058, p. 308; *Divyāvadāna*, Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 332; Przyluski, *Empereur Aśoka*, pp. 216-218, 239-243; Hsüan-tsang, Watters, II, 91. At the left of the carving is Girika, the gaoler and torturer, holding a fork. The monk, Samudra, is on a cloud springing from the lotus on the cauldron. Aśoka is seen holding respectfully a ritual tablet (笏), the Chinese emblem of his royal rank.

22

Inscription: 耶舍現通, "Yaśas manifesting his supernatural powers (abhijñā)". From the right hand of a sitting monk there proceed towards right and left two winged beings carrying stūpas. The shape of the stūpas is that attributed in China to Aśoka's (cf. Maspero, *BEFEO*, XIV, 8, pp. 44-47, figs. 25-28; compare carving n° 24, below, and also p. 87). The winged creatures are Yakṣas (not Garuḍas, compare carving n° 10; see also under n° 36 below). All the authorities quoted under n° 21 above agree in stating that it was Aśoka himself, not his spiritual adviser Yaśas, the abbot of the Monastery of the Cock near Pāṭaliputra, who handed over 84,000 caskets containing relics to the Yakṣas, ordering them to distribute the caskets throughout Jambudvīpa for stūpas to be erected on them. It was only after this act that Aśoka called on Yaśas, who fixed the day for the erection of the stūpas, and hid the sun with his hand when the fixed time came (historical eclipse? See *Journal Asiatique*, 1930, II, 135, and 1932, I, 295). The "miraculous" intervention of Yaśas, as mentioned in our epigraph, probably consisted in making it possible that all the stūpas be erected exactly at the same time in the whole empire of Aśoka (see T. 2043, Ch. II, p. 135a; also quoted in T. 2121, Ch. VI, p. 25a). In Hsuan-tsang (Watters, II, 91), the story is slightly different, and more attention is paid to the Yakṣas and to the powers required by the king to make them execute his command; but in this source, as also in T. 2058, p. 308, we have Upagupta instead of Yaśas.

23

Inscription: 童子聚沙, "the boys heaping up sand". Cf. *Saddharma-pundarikāsūtra*, T. 262, Ch. I, p. 8c (Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 32): "And even boys (t'ung-tzū) who, while playing, heap up sand (chu sha) to make stūpas for the Buddha, all these have already achieved enlightenment." In the *Avatamsakasūtra*, T. 279, Ch. LXV, p. 350c (= *Gaṇḍavyūha*, T. 293,

Ch. X, p. 704a), when Sudhana-kumāra visits Indreśvara-kumāra, he finds him busy heaping up sand (chū sha) with 10,000 other boys (t'ung-tzū) on an islet; Indreśvara-kumāra then delivers a discourse on the necessity of studying the worldly arts and techniques, in order to obtain śīlpābhijñā-jñāna. There is also a jātaka (生經, T. 154, Ch. IV, p. 95; also quoted in T. 2121, pp. 28a and 234a) about five hundred young boys (幼童) who, when playing on the beach of the Ganges in Benares, raised sand (興沙) to make pagodas; when the river overflowed, they were all drowned, to be reborn in Maitreya's heaven. Further, there is the story of the sand stūpa built by a boy who was to become King Kaniṣka (Huber, *BEFEO*, XIV, n° 1, p. 18). But considering the literal agreement between our epigraph and the text of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*, and also the high authority and wide popularity of this sūtra (in Japan this passage has given rise to various popular customs: raising cairns for deceased children, etc.), the latter is very probably the source of our carving.

24

Inscription: 薩訶朝塔, "Sa-ho paying homage to the stūpa". Sa-ho was the lay personal name of Hui-ta 慧達, a monk who at the end of the fourth century A.D. discovered an Aśoka stūpa which is regarded as the most ancient Buddhist relic in China, and is still preserved in a temple built for it by Liang Wu-ti in 552 A.D., the Aśoka temple 阿育王寺 near Ning-po 寧波 in Chê-chiang province. Cf. Maspero, *BEFEO*, XIV, n° 8, p. 47 and fig. 25. According to the report of the discovery (高僧傳, T. 2059, Ch. XIII, pp. 409-410; also 集神州三寶感通錄, T. 2106, Ch. I, p. 404b), the relic was hidden among weeds, but it eventually emitted a miraculous flame which enabled Hui-ta to locate it. Hui-ta arranged a cave or a chapel (菴) to preserve the relic. The fishermen could no longer catch any fish in the nearby pond, and all people, lay and religious, were moved to believe in the relic. In our carving the stūpa (compare n° 22 above) is seen emitting its flame; it is half hidden in a rocky mass which may be either the place of its discovery or the rough chapel made by Hui-ta. The latter is seen standing at the left; he is clothed as a layman and the inscription mentions him by his lay name, although according to his biography he had already become a monk several years before he made his discovery. An attendant is standing behind him. At the right, a figure dressed as a commoner is kneeling

and burning incense This figure stands probably for one of the laymen who were "moved to believe", perhaps one of the fishermen who no longer dared to fish near the relic

25

Inscription 僧到赤鳥, "the arrival of the monk and the Red Crow" The Red Crow 赤鳥 was the reign title adopted by Sun Ch'uan 孫權 when he made himself emperor of Wu 吳 in 238 A D, because some red crows, an auspicious omen, had assembled before his palace (三國志, 吳志, Ch II, p 11b) It was during that period, in the tenth of the "Red Crow" years (247 A D), that there arrived in Nanking coming from Tonkin, the monk Sêng hui 僧會, of Sogdian origin, who according to the accepted tradition was the first Buddhist missionary to Southern China The Chinese emperor asked him to produce a relic During three weeks Sêng hui prayed and worshipped in front of a copper flask (銅瓶) placed on a stool (几), finally a relic was found in the flask The emperor and his court came to see it, a five-coloured radiance was shining on the top of the flask The emperor erected for it a pagoda and a temple which was the first Buddhist temple in this region, and "henceforward the Law flourished in Chiang tso (i e, Southeast of the lower Yang tzu)" (*Kao seng tchouan*, T 2059, Ch I, p 325, translated by Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, 1909, pp 203-205) Our carving agrees in every detail with the text summarized above, except for the bird flying at the right side of the carving But it may be safely assumed that this bird stands for a red crow as an allusion to the period during which the event occurred It is very natural that the decorators of a pagoda in Fu chien should have commemorated the miracle which marked the official introduction of Buddhism in Southern China, just as the next carving commemorates its introduction into Northern China For the parallelism of the two events, see a summary of the history of Chinese Buddhism in a T'ang preface, in *Kyoto Trip Suppl*, LXVIII, I, 10b-11a 白鳥肇建於洛陽。赤鳥寺興於江左 As late as 655 A D a foreign monk was venerated in Chê-chuang as a reincarnation of Sêng hui (佛祖統紀, T 2035, p 367a)

26

Inscription 紅來白馬, "the white horse bringing the sūtras" A Chinese official is seen receiving the first two Buddhist missionaries to (Northern)

China, Shé Mo-t'êng 攝摩騰 and Chu Fa-lan 竺法蘭, who are said to have reached Lo-yang 洛陽 under the reign of Han Ming-ti 漢明帝 (58-75 A.D.), bringing with them sūtras carried by a white horse; a radiance is said to have emanated from the sūtras, a detail which is reproduced in our carving. On this legend, see Maspero, *BEFEO*, X, pp. 115-121. An attendant is holding the horse.

27

Inscription: 雲岩獅子, "the lions of Yun-yen". Two lions playing with a ball, a common motif of Chinese decoration. Yun-yen was the name of a temple in Hu-nan, and the toponymic by-name of the Dhyāna master T'an-shêng 曇晟, who lived there at the beginning of the ninth century; "he knew how to play with lions", 解弄獅子 (T. 2076, Ch. XIV, pp. 314-315).

28

Inscription: 二龍爭珠, "two dragons fighting for a pearl". Also decorative.

29

Inscription: 三畜評樹, "the three animals discussing the tree". An elephant, a monkey, and a bird, living together under a tree, discussed which of them had been first to know the tree. Then they placed themselves according to the order of precedence, the elephant below, the monkey on its head, and the bird on the monkey at the highest place. Thus they went about the country, a living example of politeness and *savoir vivre*. In our carving the monkey is already on the neck of the elephant, while the bird is flying towards the monkey. See Pāli Jātaka, n° 37; Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, n° 481; T. 2121, Ch. XLVII, p. 247b; other references in Watters, II, 54, and Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, IV, 239. Add *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*, T. 1435, p. 242, and *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya*, T. 1428, Ch. L, p. 940 (quoted in *Kyōto Trip. Suppl.*, LXVIII, 1, p. 10b).

30

Inscription: 鬪勇金毛, "the Golden-haired, brave in fight". Golden-haired (*hiraṇyakeśa*) is an epithet of lions. The figure at the left is evidently a lion-tamer or gladiator, dressed in western (Semitic?) fashion. The scene seems to be merely decorative.

Inscription: 玉象薙塔, "jade (i.e., precious) elephants clearing weeds off the stūpa". There are stories about elephants clearing off weeds for the Buddha; cf. Demiéville, *BEFEO*, XXIV, p. 77, and also *Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya* quoted in 經律異相, T. 2121, Ch. XLVII, p. 246c. But the present carving seems to be inspired by a passage of Hsuan-tsang's *Hsi yü chi* (T. 2087, Ch. VI, p. 902c; Julien, *Mémoires*, I, 328; not in Watters) concerning the great brick stūpa of Rāmagrama: herds of elephants used to worship this pagoda, cutting grass with their tusks (以牙芟草) and showering water with their trunks. For the stūpa, compare E III 9.

Inscription: 金鹿代庖, "the golden deer slaughtered in substitution" (the term 代庖 is borrowed from Chuang-tzū 莊子 and may mean simply "acting for another"). This carving illustrates the story which was supposed to explain the origin and the name of the Deer Park (Mṛgadāva) in Benares. In a previous existence the Bodhisattva, born as a golden deer, proposed himself to be slaughtered in place of a pregnant hind. Thereupon the king released him and all the deer, and made them a gift of his park. Pāli Jātaka, n° 12 (Nigrodha deer); Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, n° 18 and n° 175; Watters, II, 54 (*Hsi yü chi*, T. 2087, Ch. VII, pp. 906a-b); *Udānavarga* (出曜經, T. 212, Ch. IX) quoted in T. 2121, Ch. XI, pp. 58-59; *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra*, T. 1509, Ch. XVI, p. 178; Huber, *Sūtrālamkāra*, pp. 411-416; Ājaṇṭā, Griffiths, p. 139, fig. 85. The two figures at the right are the king and one of his officials; the bowing figure is the butcher, who has let his knife fall to the ground. The source of the carving is probably the version of the 雜譬喻經, n° 175 of Chavannes, in which the king is said to have decreed that hunting should be forever forbidden in his kingdom: in the carving the king is looking back to his official to give him an order.

Inscription: 天人讚鶴, "the deities (devatā, apsaras) praising the cranes". In the 六度集經, T. 152, Ch. III, p. 12 (Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, n° 19), there is the story of the crane (鶴) which tore off its own flesh under its "armpits" to feed its three little ones; but the latter refused to eat

their mother's flesh, whereupon some deities (天神) praised them (歎). In the carving we have only three cranes instead of four. One of them, however, is clearly tearing flesh off its leg. The flowers scattered from the sky are not mentioned in the text. Further, the wording of the epigraph does not exactly agree with the sūtra. The inscription has *ho* 鶴 (the generic name of cranes) instead of *ku* 鶴 (a kind of yellow crane); these two characters, however, are often used for each other in ancient texts. It is perhaps for decorative reasons that the carver figured only three cranes instead of four. The deities (see below under n° 36) are playing the flute and the harp to glorify the birds, while flowers are falling from the sky as another homage from the gods. The harp is the simplified representation of an "upright k'ung-hou", 瑟 (or 立) 瑟, a foreign (western) instrument which was used in China under the Eastern Han, Sui and T'ang dynasties; compare the famous T'ang specimens of which fragments are preserved in the Shōsōin at Nara (正倉院樂器の調査報告, in 帝室博物館學報, vol. II, Tōkyō, 1928); also a Turfan fresco in Grunwedel, *Alt buddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan*, fig. 664; a Khotan terra-cotta in Stein, *Serindia*, pl. III, fig. Yo. 0066; a Northern Wei stone relief in S. Tanabe, *History of Oriental Music* (田邊尚雄, 東洋音樂史, vol. XIII of 東洋史講座, Tōkyō, 1930), pp. 253-254 and fig. 68; and the symbolic attribute (三昧耶形) of Vajragīta-bodhisattva in the iconography (end of T'ang) of Sino-Japanese Tantrism (*Taishō Trip., Iconogr. Suppl.*, 大正新脩大藏經圖像, I, 994, fig. 417; 1054, fig. 26). The story illustrated in this carving is the prototype of the Western legend of the pelican (Alfred de Musset, *La Nuit de Mai*). Cf. Chavannes, *op. cit.*, IV, 94-95. In Italian art the bird was figured with three young devouring its breast (crucifix of the fourteenth century, Castelveccchio of Verona; n° 857 of the catalogue palio d'altare of the fifteenth century, Pinacoteca di Brera at Milan; painting of Bernardino Campi in the same museum, n° 777). Sometimes the bird itself is picking the flesh from its own breast, as in our carving (crucifixion by Pesellino, Kress Collection, New York; see also Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIII^e siècle en France*, 57-60).

Inscription: 田主放鷀, "the master of the field releasing the orioles". This scene is from the 雜寶藏經, T. 203, Ch. I, p. 449a (summarized in

Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, III, 3) A parrot (鸚鵡) stole ears of rice (稻穀穗) from a field to feed its blind father and mother. The master of the field (田主) spread a net and caught it, but on hearing the motive of the theft he hastened to release his prisoner. The man is seen standing at the edge of his rice-field, holding a hoe, with the net at his side. The bird is carrying away an ear of rice to its parents on a tree. The birds are obviously parrots, not "orioles", it is by mistake that the epigraph has 鸚 (= 鸚) "oriole" instead of 鸚 "parrot" (the two characters are homophones). Cf Pāli Jātaka, n° 484, where the birds are also parrots.

35

Inscription 雉撲野燒, "the pheasant putting out the jungle-fire". Once the Bodhisattva was born as a pheasant. A jungle-fire broke out, and the pheasant made the vow (pranidhāna) of putting out the fire, even should it lose its own life, to "save living beings". It flew to a nearby pool and dipped its wings into the water, then flew back to the forest and dropped the water on the fire, repeating this process untiringly. Finally Indra appeared and either put out the fire himself, or caused a Śuddhāvāsadeva to put it out. *Mahaprajñāparamitāsāstra*, T 1509, Ch XVI, pp 178-179 (also quoted in T 2121, Ch XLVIII, p 254), Hsuan-tsang, T 2087, p 903 (Watters, II, 29). A very similar story is told of a parrot in the 僧伽羅刹所集經, T 194, Ch I, p 120 (quotation in T 2121, Ch XII, p 60), see also a related tale in 舊雜譬喻經, T 206, Ch I, p 515a (Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, n° 114), and 雜寶藏經, T 203, Ch II, p 455. In Pāli the bird is called *lapinjala* (francolin, a kind of partridge resembling the pheasant). In our carving we see the pheasant dipping its wings into water below a waterfall, while various "living beings", a fox, a boar (?), a snake, and a bird, are running or flying away to escape the forest-fire. The carving is inspired by the *Mahaprajñāpāramitāsāstra*, the only Chinese version of the story in which the bird is designated as a pheasant.

36

Inscription 禽驚毒蛇, "the bird frightening the venomous snake". The "bird" (禽 may mean either a winged creature or a quadruped), with its human head and body, its wings, bird claws and bird tail, looks exactly like what is called in Sino-Japanese iconography a *Kalavinka* (迦陵頻伽),

corresponding to the Kinnara of Indian, Indochinese and Indonesian iconography (in the iconography of China and Japan the Kinnara is never a bird-like creature; cf. Demiéville, *BEFEO*, XXV, 254-257). Note the large naturalistic wings in Western fashion, a feature typical of the local iconography of Zayton (Ch'üan-chou), no doubt a remnant of Manichæan or rather Nestorian influences (see Ecke, "Atlantes and Caryatides in Chinese Architecture", in *Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking*, n° 7, figs. 14-21; cf. in the present volume figs. 68b and 70b); the merchants of popular



images in Amoy still sell to their Chinese (not Christian) customers fat winged babies on painted cotton (see specimen above), surely derived from some type of Western angel. In the story illustrated in the present carving — at least in the only version known to me —, the flying being is designated, however, not as a Kalavinka "bird", but as a deity, 天人 (devatā), i.e. the type of purely anthropomorphic being, floating in the air with a body dissolving into cloudy veils, which is figured in the carving n° 33 (see also *BEFEO*, XXV, 253-254). The story is found in the 雜譬喻經, a collection of Avadānas said to have been translated into Chinese under the Han dynasty (T 205, Ch I, p 503a). A religious man, 道人 (figured as a layman in the carving?), was studying the Way on a mountain infested by venomous snakes; in order to avoid the snakes, he had laid below a tree (left side of the carving) a high bed with a mattress (床褥) on which he used to sit to practise meditation (on the carving he is seen reclining on the bed in the old Chinese way — 箕坐 — fast asleep, his body leaning on an elbow-stool; note the neat mattress, apparently matted, and the sandals below the bed, an exact counterpart of the zōri 草履 of present-day Japan). He had to fight, however, against constant sleepiness, which prevented him from performing his religious duties. A deity used to hover above him in the air, trying

to wake him up by laughing. But as he still fell asleep, the deity resorted to a trick (upāya). In deep night it shouted to the anchorite: "Oho, religious man! There comes a venomous snake!" (The snake is seen appearing from below the rock, left of the carving.) The sleeper then awoke in great fright, but found no snake, and so asked the deity what it was all about. The deity proceeded to deliver a discourse on the four invisible snakes in the human body, *i.e.* the four material elements which have constituted the body since time immemorial and have not attained deliverance. The man then understood the vacuity of suffering and the inexistence of the body, and before dawn became an Arhat. The comparison of the four bodily elements with snakes is current in Buddhist literature.

37

Inscription: 忍守 (?) 仙人, "Kṣāntirīṣi". An anchorite (rīṣi) named Patience (Kṣānti, 忍辱, 羼提: *Mahāsannipātasūtra*, T. 397, Ch. L, p. 330b; *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, T. 1509, Ch. XIV, p. 166, also quoted in T. 2121, Ch. XXXIX, p. 208; *Alamkāraśāstra*, trsl. Huber, pp. 325, 352; *Sêng-ch'ieh-lo-ch'a so chi ching*, T. 194, Ch. I, p. 119; Hsuan-tsang, *Watters*, I, 228), or Patience-guarding (Kṣāntipāla [?]: 羼提婆羅 or 波梨, 賢忍經, T. 202, Ch. II, pp. 359-360), or Patience-preaching (Kṣāntivādin, *Jāta-lamālā*, n° 28; Khantivādin, Pāli *Jātaka*, n° 313; 羼提和, 六度集經, T. 152, Ch. V, p. 25, Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, n° 44, also quoted in T. 2121, Ch. VIII, p. 40), was practising the virtue of patience (kṣānti-pāramitā) in a forest, when the king with his ministers and women came near him. The women went to hear him; later on the king, having arrived on the spot, became furious with jealousy and, under the pretext of testing the anchorite's patience, started cutting him to pieces with his sword. In the carving, the anchorite is seen sitting with two women at his side; on the right a figure is drawing a sword, while another is riding a horse. The latter figure is probably one of the king's ministers, attempting to deter him from his wicked resolve (see *Mahāparinirvānasūtra*, T. 374, Ch. XXI, p. 551). According to the Pāli *Jātaka*, the dismembering was done by the king's executioner, but all Chinese sources agree in stating that the king himself handled the sword. Other references in Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, IV, 113-114; Le Coq-Waldschmidt, *Buddh. Spätantike*, VI, 11-12.

Inscription: 獨角大德, "Unicorn the great anchorite". Unicorn (Ekaśṛṅga) was the name of a hermit (ṛṣi) who had been born from a ṛṣi and a hind; his feet were like those of a deer and he had a horn on his head. He acquired supernatural powers (abhijñā), and was able to cause a drought in the country. Then the king of Benares sent a courtesan who seduced him and made him lose his powers. Finally the hermit brought her back to the king on his shoulders. The above is a summary of the story as told in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra*, T. 1509, Ch. XVII, p. 183 (translated by Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, n° 453, from the quotation in T. 2121, Ch. XXXIX, pp. 209-210). Another version, slightly different, is found in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, T. 1450, Ch. XIII, p. 161 (compare the text of the *Kanjur*, Schiefner-Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, pp. 253-256). In the carving we see Ekaśṛṅga touching a deer which is evidently his mother. The figure at the right, holding some object against its breast (perhaps an aphrodisiac cake; see below), is a demon with horns and tufts of hair, as in E, base, n° 12. According to the Pālī Jātaka (n° 526, Isisinga), the anchorite's father was present, and so were also some ministers who followed the woman (not a courtesan in this version, but the king's own daughter). But the Chinese versions quoted above speak only of 20 (or 500) women accompanying the seducer; furthermore, according to the Chinese texts, the woman should be disguised as a ṛṣi and clad in bark, which is not the case in our carving. The horned devil is evidently meant to represent Māra or one of his acolytes; though not mentioned in any text, the Evil One could naturally enough be included in such a scene. The courtesan is seen at the left, holding something which may be one of the flowers or fruits, or rather one of the "pleasure pills" or "cakes" (歡喜丸), which she is said to have offered to the hermit. These "pleasure pills" (in Sanskrit modaka, 摩呼荼迦, see *Fo pên hsing chi ching*, T. 190, Ch. LIX, p. 925c)⁶³, a kind of cakes probably used as aphrodisiacs, play an important part in the Ekaśṛṅga episode as told in its two Chinese versions: some of them had also been offered to the (future or present) Śākyabuddha by the mother of Rāhula, Yaśodharā. It is in this connection that the story of Ekaśṛṅga is in-

⁶³ The Sanskrit term is confirmed by Tantric documents in "Siddham" script. In Sino-Japanese Tantrism these cakes are the attribute of the erotic type of Gaṇeśa (雙身歡喜天).

roduced in the *Sāstra* and in the *Vinaya*. The jātaka of Ekaśṛṅga is mentioned in the *Fo pên hsing chi ching*, T. 190, Ch. XVI, p. 736b, in Hsuan-tsang, Watters, I, 218-221, etc., but without any details. See also Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, IV, 230-233.

39

Inscription: 捨身飼虎, "the gift of the body to feed the tigress". A big tigress, half hidden in a rocky cave, is seen devouring the body of the Bodhisattva, whose clothing is hanging on a bamboo branch. At the left is a tiger-cub. This is one of the most popular jātakas of Northern Buddhism (cf. Hsuan-tsang, Watters, I, 253; Sung Yun, Chavannes, *BEFEO*, III, p. 411, n. 3). It is found at the opening of the *Jātakamālā* (T. 160), in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (T. 665), in a special sūtra, T. 172, in the 六度集經 (Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, n° 4). According to the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, the event took place in a bamboo-grove, as in our carving. The Bodhisattva took off his coat and hung it on a bamboo, to offer himself naked to the tigress. Further, in order to arouse the beast's appetite by the sight of blood, he pricked himself with a shoot of bamboo; this shoot is seen in the carving, lying on the ground below the hanging coat. According to this version, the tigress had seven cubs; in our carving only one is figured, no doubt for artistic reasons. Other references in Le Coq-Waldschmidt, *Buddh. Spätantike*, VI, 24-25.

3. EASTERN PAGODA, STORIES I TO V

E 1

In this story the four principal faces (s, w, n, e) are occupied by pairs of Vajra-Guardians. On the intermediate faces we have deities whose identification is not certain, but which seem to be the four Devarājas (nw and ne: one of them, Vaiśramaṇa, is certain) and four of the eight classes of mythological beings (sw and se; one of them, the Asura, is certain). The execution is good.

1-2(s) [pl. 42]. — Two Vajra-holders (*Trad.* 南方金剛神), with breast, arms, and legs bare, and hair dressed in a double knot. They hold vajras with a short blade at one end. The mouth of 1 is closed, that of 2 is open, in accordance with the Chinese designation 哼哈二將, "the two Generals Hêng and Ha", Ha standing for the Sanskrit letter *Ā*, and Hêng for the compound letter *Hām*, the *Alpha* and *Omega* of the Sanskrit syllabary mystically interpreted.

3(sw). — A deity, in full armour (with coat of mail), with flaming hair and a monster crouching around its legs. The hands are joined before the breast as for worship. According to *Trad.* this is Mahoraga ("Great Snake"), 摩候羅伽, one of the eight classes of beings forming the company of Śākyamuni Buddha in certain sūtras (八部衆: Deva, Nāga, Yakṣa, Gandharva, Asura, Garuḍa, Kinnara, Mahoraga). According to canonical authorities, Mahoraga is characterized by a snake-head. A set of dry-lacquer statues of the above eight classes of beings, dating from the Tempyō 天平 period (729-749 A D.), is exhibited in the Imperial Museum at Nara, but their state of preservation makes it impossible to identify Mahoraga. On the other hand, well preserved stone-carvings of the eight classes, dating from the eighth century, are to be seen at the Sōk-kul-am 石窟庵 near Kyōng-tju (Keishū) 慶州 in Corea (*Chōsen koseki zufu* 朝鮮古蹟圖譜, vol. V). None of these carvings, however, is exactly similar to our present figure; and in the absence of any epigraph the identification with Mahoraga remains uncertain.

4(sw). — A god-like figure, entirely clad but not armoured, with both hands laid on a sword resting vertically on the ground. The hair is surmounted by a wing-shaped headdress. According to *Trad.* this is the

god (or general) Wei-t'o 韋駄; but the position of the sword does not agree with the traditional attitude of this popular god of Chinese Buddhism (as a rule he holds his sword laid horizontally on his forearms, as in E 11 6 and W 11 12), and the curious headdress seems to point to some more classical personage, probably one of the eight classes of beings.

5-6(w) [pl. 43]. — Two Vajra-holders, treated like E 1 1-2, with attitudes similar to those of W 11 3-4. The mouth of 5 is closed, that of 6 is open. *Trad.* 西方二金剛神.

7-8(nw). — Two god-like figures, entirely (and similarly) clad, with double hair-knot. 7 holds a vajra (with a short heavy spade) resting horizontally on the forearms, while the hands are joined in a mudrā. 8 holds with both hands, against the breast, some rectangular object which might be a book; a long sword is hanging from the right forearm. According to *Trad.* they are Virūpākṣa, 廣目, protector of the West, and Vaiśramaṇa, 多聞, protector of the North, two of the four Devarājas, 四天王 (Caturmahārājakāyikas, Lokapālas). This identification is certainly wrong as regards Vaiśramaṇa, the only one of the four Devarājas whose iconographical personality is clearly defined by constant attributes, the stūpa and the spear; Vaiśramaṇa is without any doubt E 1 11. As to the other three Devarājas, their attributes vary as well in the textual authorities (a synopsis of which will be found in G. Ono's *Course of Lectures on Buddhist Art*, 小野玄妙, 佛教美術講話, Tōkyō, 1928, Appendix III, pp. 42-45), as in iconographical monuments. They hold a spear or a sword or a vajra or a jewel, but the attribution of these objects is not well established. According to one authority, Virūpākṣa holds a brush (hair-pencil) and makes the gesture of writing; the book (?) held by E 1 8 might be connected with this tradition.

9-10(N) [pl. 44]. — Two Vajra-holders; same costume and headdress as E 1 1-2 and 5-6, but with beasts crouching round their legs. The mouths of both are closed. *Trad.* 北方二金剛神.

11(NE). — Vaiśramaṇa, the protector of the North, in full armour, with coat of mail and helmet, holding his classical attributes the spear (with a streamer) and the stūpa. *Trad.* makes of this figure Dhṛtarāṣṭra, 持國, the protector of the East; this identification is untenable. On the classical attributes of Vaiśramaṇa, different from those usual in Lamaism and in modern China, see *Hōbōgirin*, p. 83.

12(NE). — A god-like figure treated, as regards costume and head-dress, like E 1 7-8, but holding a vajra; according to *Trad.* Virūḍhaka, 增長, the protector of the South. Considering the indubitable presence of Vaiśramaṇa (E 1 11), we may admit that the other three Devarājas are also figured in this story; but it seems strange that they should not have been placed in accordance with their own consecrated orientations. They seem to be already treated here, as in modern China, not as protectors of the four cardinal regions, but as two pairs of door-guardians. On the Chinese confusion between the Lokapāla and Dvārapāla types, see *BEFEO*, XXV, 443.

13-14(E) [pl. 45]. — Two Vajra-holders treated like E 1 1-2, 5-6, 9-10. The mouth of 13 is open, that of 14 is closed. 14 holds in the right hand what seems to be a mass of fire (cintāmaṇi ?). *Trad.* 東方二金剛神.

15(SE). — A god with three heads and six arms. The central face has a frontal eye, and fangs at the corners of the mouth. The hair is flaming as in E 1 3. Two hands are joined in mudrā; of the other four, one holds a sword, one performs a mudrā, two hold the discs of the sun and the moon. According to *Trad.* this is an Asura, 阿修羅, one of the eight classes of beings. This identification is certainly correct; in Japanese iconography the Asura is figured exactly in this way, except for a bow instead of the sword (cf. *Hōbōgiri*, p. 43), and in the Corean carvings mentioned above, the Asura has also three heads and eight arms.

16(SE). — A god wearing armour and a helmet of mail, with a kind of waving crest on the top of the helmet. The right hand holds a bow and arrow, the left hand a piece of clothing. A dragon (nāga) is crouching round the legs. According to *Trad.* this is Sāgara, 沙竭羅, one of the Dragon-kings (Nāgarājas). In Japanese iconography Sāgara represents the class of the Nāgas among the eight or twenty-eight classes of beings (Ono, *op. cit.*, pp. 523, 605); but he holds in his left hand a snake, in his right hand a sword. In Japan it is another Nāgarāja, Kumbhīra, 金比羅, who holds a bow and arrow.

E II

In this story all the figures are monks, except Wei-t'o (6), who may be regarded, however, as a protector of monks. Some of the monks are famous figures from the hagiography of the Dhyāna Sect, while others seem to be-

long to the group of the sixteen (or eighteen) Arhats. All have halos behind their heads. The standard of execution is good.

1-2(s) [pl. 47]. — Han-shan 寒山 and Shih-tê 拾得, the famous buffoon monks of the Dhyāna Sect, who are said to have lived under the T'ang dynasty and became a favourite theme in Far Eastern art. One holds a rosary, the other a book-scroll with loosened tie. They appear at the same place (II 1-2) on the Western Pagoda, but with different attributes. Note that a book is the usual attribute of Mañjuśrī, of whom Han-shan is believed to have been an incarnation, Shih-tê being identified with Samantabhadra (T. 2061, Ch. XIX, p. 831b; 2076, Ch. XXVII, p. 433b). Cf. under W v 11-12, p. 40.

3(sw). — A monk with a halo, holding a fly-flap in his right hand. Near his left foot there is a lotus-stand supporting a sphere. According to *Trad.* this is I-ts'un 義存, a native of Ch'uan-chou, better known as "Snowy Peak", 雪峯, from the name of the monastery where he resided, near Fuchou 福州. He had many followers at the end of the T'ang dynasty and the beginning of the Five Dynasties, and his residence then became a centre of Dhyāna for the whole province of Fu-chien. One of his disciples founded the Yun-mên tsung 雲門宗, one of the five branches of the Dhyāna sect in China. He lived from 822 to 908 A.D. Cf. 宋高僧傳, T. 2061, Ch. XII. The identification is without any guarantee and the figure might as well be one of the eighteen Arhats.

4(sw). — A monk with a halo, wearing a cap on his head and shoulders. His left hand is laid on the head of a tiger. This figure looks like one of the two additional Arhats (n° 17-18) in the group of the eighteen Arhats, the Dragon-subduer, 降龍, and the Tiger-tamer, 伏虎 (no doubt of Taoist origin, cf. Chavannes and Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1916, II, 136-149). *Trad.*, however, assigns to the present figure the name 華林庵祖師, in which 庵 might stand for 玄庵, the name of a native of the city of Ch'uan-chou, who had been ordained in the K'ai-yuan Temple and resided later in Chang-chou 漳州 near Amoy. He belonged to the Dhyāna Sect and lived from 910 to 975 A.D. See 景德傳燈錄, T. 2076, Ch. XXIV, p. 402. But there is nothing in his biography to explain either the tiger or the name Hua-lin. A similar figure of a monk with a tiger appears on the Western Pagoda, W II 14(ε), also with the name Hua-lin assigned to it by *Trad.*; and also in W I 3, but here with the designation Piṇḍola, which according

to some authorities is the name of the eighteenth Arhat. Hua-lin was the name of a mountain near Ch'ang-sha in Hu-nan, and of a Dhyāna master who lived on this mountain about the middle of the eighth century, with two tigers as his attendants (澤州華林菩薩禪師, T. 2076, Ch. VIII, p. 261c; IX, p. 264c; XIV, p. 308c). But there are many other stories in the hagiography of the Dhyāna sect connecting monks with tigers. Wu-liao 無了, a native of P'u-t'ien 蒲田 between Fu-chou and Ch'uan-chou, who lived near the latter city towards the end of the eighth century, once chased away with his wooden stick a tiger which had entered his hermitage in pursuit of a deer (*ib.*, Ch. VIII, p. 260); note that the figure W 11 14 holds a stick. Fêng-kan 封干 (or 豐干), the foster-father of Shih-tê, used to ride on a tiger, and when a visitor called on him he found in his cell only the foot-prints of a tiger (*ib.*, Ch. XXVII, p. 433-434; also T. 2061, Ch. XIX, p. 831); note that in W 11 and E 1 the figure with a tiger is not far from the carvings of Han-shan and Shih-tê, with whom Fêng-kan is closely associated (he was their only friend, and the poems attributed to this "triad of saints", 三聖, were edited together under the title 三隱集). Chih-yen 智嚴, a Sui general who entered the Dhyāna sect at the beginning of the T'ang dynasty, used to live with tigers and other wild beasts (T. 2060, Ch. XX, p. 602). Li T'ung-hsuan 李通玄, a layman who retired to the mountains near T'ai-yuan in 719 A. D. in order to study the *Avatamsakasūtra*, met a tiger which offered its back to carry the sūtra (T. 2035, Ch. XL, p. 373). In fact all these stories are but euhemeristic variations on the folklore theme of the tamed tiger, so frequent in popular Chinese hagiography (see above E, base, n° 13; other examples in Doré, *Recherches*, VIII, 330, 337). Cf. under E 11 16, pp. 72-73.

5(w) [pl. 48]. — A monk with a halo, his hands joined for worship. Possibly one of the Arhats (?). *Trad.* wanting.

6(w). — A figure dressed similarly to E 1 7, but with a single hair-knot, which emits flames (?). The hands are joined before the breast, a vajra being laid horizontally on the forearms. Probably the god (or general) Wei-t'o (cf. p. 66, under E 1 4). *Trad.* wanting. Cf. W 11 12.

7(nw). — A monk with a halo, holding his right sleeve with his left hand, and a rod with his right hand; the rod is supported by a child and from its top a calabash is hanging. One of the Arhats (?). *Trad.* wanting.

8(nw). — A monk with a halo and cap, holding a rosary. At his feet

there is a small monkey dressed as an official (?) and holding a ritual tablet (?). This might be one of the Arhats. The detailed iconography of the individual Arhats has not yet been properly studied. In a set of Arhats painted by a lay artist of Ssü-ch'uan at the end of the T'ang dynasty, one of the eighteen (n° 3, Piṇḍola) had at his feet a white monkey offering him fruit, as proved by the eulogies (頌) on these paintings written by Su Shih 蘇軾 of the Sung dynasty (see *Rakan-zusan-shū* 羅漢圖讚集 by Tetsujō 徹定, 1862 A.D., II, 2). But the present figure must rather be the pilgrim Hsüan-tsang 玄奘 with the monkey acolyte who accompanied and helped him during his journey to India, as related in the popular novel entitled *Hsi yü chi* 西遊記. The *Hsi yü chi* in its present form was probably written in the latter half of the Ming dynasty, though there was in the repertory of the Yuan theatre a lengthy play on the same subject, and some of the folklore themes appearing in the novel may be traced as far back as the T'ang dynasty (see Hu Shih 胡適, preface to the edition of the *Hsi yü chi* published in 1921 by the 亞東圖書館, Shanghai). The monkey acolyte, under the name of Monkey-attendant, 猴行者, already plays a prominent part in the 大唐三藏取經詩話, an early (Sung) form of the *Hsi yü chi* story, recently reprinted, from a Sung edition preserved in Japan, by two eminent Chinese scholars, Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 and Lo Chên-yu 羅振玉 (Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1925). In the *Hsi yü chi*, the monkey is an official of the Jade Emperor at the Court of Heaven, before he becomes the companion of Hsüan-tsang, which might explain his costume in our carving. Cf. W iv 11-12, pp. 35-36; also under W i 13-14.

9(N) [pl. 49]. — Bodhidharma, the founder of the Dhyāna Sect in China, crossing the Yang-tzū River on reeds. He holds a scroll with the epigraph: 入楞伽經, i.e., *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, the title of a famous sūtra of the Dhyāna Sect.

10(N). — *Trad.* 梁武帝, "Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty". The famous patron of Buddhism in Southern China is represented in imperial dress, with dragon and cloud (?) embroideries, but with his head shaved; i.e. as an emperor ordained as Bodhisattva. In fact he received the Bodhisattva ordination (菩薩戒) in 519-520 A.D., but continued to reign during thirty years. See *Hōbōgirin*, p. 146. Cf. W iv 1; also E iv 9.

11(NE). — *Trad.* Pu-tai ho-shang 布袋和尚, "Master Cloth-bag", the grotesque monk of the Dhyāna Sect who is said to have died in 917 A.D.,

and is popularly identified with Maitreya. He holds a rod and a bag of cloth (perhaps a symbol of gluttony, cf. *Tz'ü yüan*, s.v., quoting a Sung author), while two children are playing at his feet, one of them holding cash (in his legend there is a story about cash, see Helen B. Chapin, *The Ch'an master Pu-tai*, *JAOS*, LIII, p. 50; cf. p. 30, W I 12).

12(NE). — A monk with a halo, leaning on a bamboo rod. *Trad.* wanting. Cf. W III 3, E III 12.

13(E) [pl 50]. — A monk with a halo, holding with one hand a book-scroll, with the other the end of its cord. *Trad.* wanting. There seems to be an inscription on the scroll. Same attribute as E III 7 (said to be Chih-i) and W I 7 (said to be Upāli).

14(E). — A monk with a halo, holding with the right hand a rosary, with the left hand a rod from the end of which a fly-flap is hanging. *Trad.* wanting.

15(SE). — A bareheaded monk with a halo, his bust clothed only with a scarf over his left shoulder, his long ears adorned with rings. With his right hand he is raising a bowl around which there hovers a dragon with flames. *Trad.* 降龍鉢, "the bowl to subdue the dragon". This is probably the seventeenth of the eighteen Arhats, the Dragon-subduer (see above p. 69, E II 4), represented with a reminiscence of the Kāśyapa miracle (see E, base, n° 14). In the eulogies of Su Shih (see p. 71, under E II 8), one of the Arhats (n° 7, Nakula) is said to hold a pearl (珠) spat by a dragon into his hand, while his attendant is offering him a bowl. In a popular Annamite book on the Arhats, with illustrations, the Dragon-subduer is represented holding a "fire-pearl" (a small bowl emitting a flame), while a fire-dragon is hovering in the air. Cf. W I 16, p. 31; and below under 16.

16(SE). — A monk with a halo and a cap, holding his left sleeve over his head. In his right hand he holds a tin-staff (khakkhara). *Trad.* 解虎錫, "the tin-staff to part tigers". Probably the eighteenth Arhat, the Tiger-subduer, with a reminiscence of the story from Chinese hagiography which is figured in E, base, n° 13. In the Dhyāna Sect there is a traditional pair the name of which agrees with the title given by the monks of the K'ai-yuan Temple to our carvings 15 and 16.⁶⁶ This pair, which is anterior to the addition of two (Chinese) Arhats to the (Indian) sixteen, seems to be

⁶⁶ See the famous poem, 證道歌, written by a Dhyāna master of the T'ang dynasty, Hsüan-ch'ao 玄覺, who died in 713 A.D.; T. 2076, p. 460b, 2nd col. from left

purely Chinese, the Dragon-subduer, 降龍, being usually identified with a Western missionary, Shê-kung 沙公, who came to Ch'ang-an 長安 in 376 A.D. and by his magical formulas was able to compel a dragon to enter a bowl and thereby stopped a drought (see the *Kao sêng chuan* of 519 A.D., T. 2059, Ch. X), while the Parter-of-tigers, 解虎, is said to be no other than the Chinese monk Sêng-ch'ou, on whom see p. 50 (E, base, n° 13). It may be noted that in the base of the Eastern Pagoda the traditional (Chinese) pair of the Tiger-tamer and the Dragon-subduer is treated as half Chinese and half Indian, i.e. the former is identified with Sêng-ch'ou (carving n° 13) and the latter with Kāśyapa (carving n° 14). In fact this pair was an impersonal motive of folklore and imagery, probably of Taoist origin, and various explanatory legends were applied to it in course of time. Just as the Tiger-tamer was identified with a number of different Buddhist saints (see p. 70, E II 4), so was also the Dragon-subduer (e.g., with the Dhyāna patriarch Hui-nêng 慧能, see Doré, *Recherches*, VII, 258).

E III

In this story all the figures are monks, either Indian or Chinese. None of them has a halo. The standard of execution is about the same as in the lower stories, the clothing of the monks being treated in a very similar fashion.

1-2(s) [pl. 51]. — According to *Trad.* these two monk-figures, with their hands joined and their bare feet resting on lotus-flowers, are Ānanda and (Mahā) Kāśyapa, the two chief disciples of Śākyamuni Buddha, and often his acolytes in iconography.

3(sw). — *Trad.* P'u-hua 普化, another popular figure of Dhyāna hagiography. He is said to have lived in the ninth century A.D. He used to wander about with a bell, shaking it at the ears or behind the backs of people, and whenever anyone looked round, he would lay out his hand, begging for a piece of cash. If asked a question, he used to bray like a donkey. See *Sung lao sêng chuan*, T. 2061, Ch. XX, p. 837; *Ching tê ch'uan têng lu*, T. 2078, Ch. X, p. 280. He is seen here shaking his bell and giving a piece of cash to a child. Cf. W I 11 (and 12), p. 30.

4(sw). — *Trad.* Ch'ang-mei 長眉, "Long Brows". Pṇḍola, the eighteenth of the eighteen Arhats according to some authorities. In Indian tra-

dition he was already characterized by long eyebrows. See Chavannes and Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1916, II, 121, 137-147.

5(w) [pl. 53]. — *Trad.* Ch'ing-yu 慶友, i.e., Nandimitra, the seventeenth of the eighteen Arhats according to the same authorities. The dragon hovering in the air is an allusion to the subduing of the dragon (see above under E II 4, 15 and 16; cf. also W I 16).

6(w) [pl. 52]. — *Trad.* Fo-t'u-têng 佛圓澄. A native of Kucha who came to China in 310 A.D. and became famous at the Chinese court as a healer and thaumaturge. He used to rub the palm of his hand with oil mixed with greasy matter, and was then able to see in it, as in a mirror, things which happened over a thousand miles away. See *Kao sêng chuan*, T. 2059, Ch. IX, pp. 383-387; *Chin shu* 晉書, Ch. 95, 9b. In our carving a cloudy trail is emitted from the palm of his left hand. In his right hand he holds a round fan.

7(nw) [pl. 53]. — *Trad.* 智者大師, i.e. Chih-i 智顗 (538-598 A.D.), the founder of the T'ien-t'ai Sect 天台宗. Cf. W III 11. Here he is seen opening a scroll, like the figure in E II 13. Very doubtful identification.

8(nw). — *Trad.* 賢者國師, i.e. the National Master Hsien-shou 賢首, the official title of Fa-tsang 法藏 (643-712 A.D.), the third (and most conspicuous) Chinese patriarch of the Hua-yen Sect 華嚴宗. He holds a Ju-i sceptre (如意), with a Buddha carved on it. This might be an emblem of the title and rank of National Master (國師) which was conferred upon him by the Empress Wu; hence the identification? Cf. W I 4.

9(n). — A monk raising a stūpa on his right hand. *Trad.* 闍婆尊者, "the Worthy of Chi-pin", i.e. of Kashmir (or Kapiśa). A similar figure in W v 4 receives the same name from the monks of the K'ai-yuan Temple. The explanation of the name and of the figure is uncertain; possibly Madhyāntika, the patriarch who founded monasteries in Kashmir; or Sumana, the Arhat who was sent to Kashmir to erect a stūpa to hold the hair and nails of the Buddha according to a tale of T. 211, Ch. II, 590(?).

10(n) [pl. 54]. — A monk holding a censer with a handle (手爐, 柄香爐). *Trad.* 慈雲懺主, "the Master of Contrition Tz'ü-yün". Tz'ü-yün is the title which was conferred by the Sung emperor Chên-tsung 真宗 upon Tsun-shih 遵式 (963-1032 A.D.), a monk of the T'ien-t'ai Sect who is famous for having instituted the ritual for various ceremonies (or offices) of Contrition (懺法, 懺儀), and is therefore known as the Master of Contrition, 懺主. The

censer he is holding may be an allusion to his capacity as a specialist of liturgy (?). Cf. W III 8.

11(NE). — A monk holding a rosary in his left hand. With his right hand he is performing a mudrā over a ball in a round plate which is held by a child. *Trad.* wanting. Cf. E II 12, W III 3.

12(NE) [pls. 55, 60]. — An old monk leaning on a rod, with a child worshipping him. Cf. W III 3; E II 12.

13(E) [pl. 54]. — A monk holding in his right hand a bowl emitting a flame, while his left hand performs a mudrā. *Trad.* 蒙山法師, "the master of the Law (of ?) Mêng-shan". Mêng-shan is the name of various mountains in China, particularly of one in the province of Shan-tung, N.W. of Feih sien 費縣, on which there are said to be over seventy ancient monasteries; also of a mountain near Lu-shan 廬山 in the province of Ssü-ch'uan (辭源, IX, 63c). In Tonkin one of the most common Buddhist offices is called the office of Mêng-shan, 蒙山科. The identity of the person thus named is not clear.

14(E). — *Trad.* 目連尊者, i.e., Maudgalyāyana, one of the chief disciples of Śākyamuni; represented with his traditional attributes, a bowl (pātra) and a tin-staff (khakkhara). Cf. W III 12; W V 1.

15(SE). — A monk holding a rosary. *Trad.* 慧遠法師, "the master of the Law Hui-yuan". There were two famous monks of this name, one under the Chin dynasty, the founder of the White Lotus Association (334–416 A.D.), and one under the Sui dynasty, the first great Buddhist exegete in China (523–592 A.D.) *Trad.* refers probably to the former, who is considered a Chinese patriarch of the Pure Land sect; but there is no warrant whatever for this identification of the carving.

16(SE). — A monk holding a fly-flap with both hands. *Trad.* 道宣律師, "the master of Vinaya Tao-hsuan", the famous founder of the Vinaya sect, 律宗 (596–667 A.D.). Mere guess-work.

E IV

In this story all the figures are Bodhisattvas, all (except 9) standing or sitting on lotus-flowers and adorned with halos. They do not belong to any traditional group, but seem to have been chosen more or less at random, or even freely imagined, several of them being difficult to identify

by means of the classical iconographic canon. The execution is notably poorer than in the lower stories.

1-2(s) [pl. 57]. — Mañjuśrī (Wên-shu 文殊) on his lion and Samantabhadra (P'u-hsien 普賢) on his elephant, the two acolytes of Śākyamuni Buddha in Mahāyāna iconography. The latter holds a lotus-flower with a long stem; the former also a flower (?).

3(sw). — Avalokiteśvara (Kuan-yin 觀音, the acolyte on the left side of Amitābha) holding a flask and a willow twig, with a baby clinging to his (or her (?); cf. W iv 5, p. 341) right sleeve. The popular Chinese type of Kuan-yin as protecting (or giving) children.

4(sw). — Mahāsthāmaprāpta (Ta-shih-chih 大勢至, the acolyte who stands to the right of Amitābha), with his classical attributes, a lotus-flower in one hand and a precious flask in his hair-dress. Cf. W iv 5-6.

5(w) [pl. 56]. — A Bodhisattva whose left hand is performing a mudrā before his navel. From his right hand, which is performing the same mudrā, there emanates a lotus-flower with a Buddha seated on it. *Trad.* 寶掌菩薩, "Precious Hand-palm Bodhisattva". A Bodhisattva of this name is mentioned among the hearers of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*; also in the *Mahāprajñāparāmītāsāstra*, which explains that the seven precious substances are produced from his hand-palm. Further, in the *Garbhadhātumandala* as preserved in Japan, there are two Bodhisattvas called 寶掌 "Precious Hand-palm" and 寶手 "Precious Hand" (Ratnapāṇi, name of a Bodhisattva in the *Mahāvīyutpathi*, XXIII, 11); both hold in their left hands the stem of a lotus on the flower of which there is, not a Buddha, but a vajra with a cintāmani.

6(w). — A Bodhisattva holding with his left hand a large flower (not a lotus), while his right hand is raised in a mudrā. *Trad.* 寶華菩薩, "Precious Flower Bodhisattva" (?). Cf. W v 16.

7(nw) [pl. 57]. — A Bodhisattva holding a rosary in his right hand, his left hand being laid on the right wrist. *Trad.* wanting. Cf. W iv 9.

8(nw). — A Bodhisattva holding in his left hand an opened book, the tie of which he holds with his right hand. The book is not a scroll, but is bound in the fashion of an Indian poṭhī, i.e. what the Chinese call 梵夾 (or 梵篋). In Japan this is an attribute of some forms of Mañjuśrī (or also of Avalokiteśvara).

9(n) [pl. 58]. — A figure dressed and capped like a Chinese official (or

rather an emperor, with dragon embroidery, cf. E II 10), standing not on a lotus-flower but on a cloud (?), holding in the right hand a flower (not a lotus) and in the left a tablet (笏 ?). *Trad.* 信相菩薩, "Faith-aspect Bodhisattva" (Ruciraketu ?). A Bodhisattva of this name appears in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*. The attribution of this name to the present carving seems due to some confusion; cf. W IV 9. Perhaps Brahmā or Indra? or Liang Wu-ti (cf. E II 10, W IV 1)?

10(N). — A Bodhisattva holding with both hands what seems to be a Ju-i sceptre surmounted by a cintāmaṇi (如意珠). *Trad.* 尤明菩薩, "Radiance Bodhisattva" (?). Might possibly be Cintāmaṇicakra, one of the forms of Avalokiteśvara (如意輪菩薩), though our figure does not agree with the usual type of this Bodhisattva; or Samantabhadra, who sometimes holds a Ju-i?

11(NE). — A Bodhisattva holding a Ju-i sceptre, with a cintāmaṇi (?) in his hair-dress. *Trad.* wanting.

12(NE). — A Bodhisattva holding a rosary and performing a mudrā pointing to the left side. *Trad.* wanting

13(E). — A Bodhisattva performing the same mudrā with both hands. *Trad.* 金剛藏菩薩, Vajragarbha; highly doubtful in the absence of any attribute.

14(E). — A Bodhisattva with his left hand resting on the head of a lion. *Trad.* 地藏菩薩, Kṣitigarbha. On the golden-maned lion, an incarnation of Mañjuśrī, which assists Kṣitigarbha at the judgment of the Dead, see Waley, *A Catalogue of Paintings* . . ., p. 37. The present identification, however, is very doubtful.

15-16(SE). — Sūryaprabha (日光) and Candraprabha (月光) Bodhisattvas, the acolytes of the Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru (藥師佛), the former holding the sun-disc (with a cock), the latter the moon-disc (with a hare under a tree). Cf. W IV 13-14.

E v

In this story, as in E I, we have pairs of Guardians on the four principal faces (S, W, N, E). The figures on the intermediate faces are Buddhas and monks. There are apparently five Buddhas (3-4, 7-8 and 15), perhaps the Buddhas of the five cardinal directions (Vairocana Center, Ratnasambhava S, Amitāyus W, Amoghasiddhi N, Akṣobhya E), though

their attitudes and mudrās do not agree with the classical iconographic tradition. The execution is rather poor.

1-2(s) [not reproduced]. — Two Guardian-deities, entirely clad and armoured, holding long swords. Their attitudes and mudrās are exactly like those of W 1 1-2 (also W III 1), though there are differences in the costume and hairdressing (excluding the possibilities of direct copy) and the execution is much poorer here than in W 1. *Trad.* 鎮壇神王, "divine kings guarding the terrace (maṇḍala)". In W the same deities are said to guard the monastery. Similar deities in W 1 9-10, W II 7-8, etc., are said to guard the pagoda!

3-4(sw) [not reproduced]. — Two Buddhas, dressed like monks, with ūṣṇā and curled hair (螺髮, kaparda), standing on lotus-flowers and performing different mudrās. *Trad.* assigns to them the fanciful names of 帝相佛 and 梵相佛, "Buddhas having the characteristic aspect of Indra and Brahmā"! The mudrā of 4 suggests Amitābha (cf. *Hōbōgirin*, p. 29).

5-6(w) [not reproduced]. — Two guardians dressed like Vajra-holders (breast, arms, and legs bare, double hair-knot), but holding no vajra in their closed fists. *Trad.* 護戒神王, "divine kings protecting the śīlas", which is certainly not correct, these figures being dressed like ordinary Guardians and not like gods (cf. W II 15-16). Their attitudes are like those of W 1 5-6, but the latter hold vajras.

7-8(nw) [not reproduced]. — Two Buddhas standing on lotus-flowers (7 on a single flower, 8 on two). The mudrā of 8 (Varada) suggests Ratnasambhava, the Buddha of the South in the group of the five Buddhas.

9-10(N) [pl 59]. — Two Vajra-holders, 9 with closed, 10 with open mouth. The treatment is similar to that of the Vajra-holders of E 1 (E v 10 has the same attitude as E 1 6), but the execution is much poorer. *Trad.* 金剛力士.

11(NE). — A monk with a cap over head and shoulders, holding a fly-flap. *Trad.* wanting.

12(NE). — A figure holding a scroll, dressed and booted like a Chinese monk, but with the right arm partly uncovered. The headdress seems to be a double hair-knot, not an uṣṇīṣa. *Trad.* wanting.

13-14(E). — Two Vajra-holders, whose attitudes are the same as those

of E v 5-6; 13 with closed, 14 with open mouth. 13 alone actually holds a vajra. *Trad.* Hêng Ha êrh Chiang; cf. p. 66, under E i 1-2.

15(se). — A Buddha with uṣṇīṣa and ūṛṇā, his right arm uncovered (as in E v 7-8), but without lotus-stand. His left sleeve is raised, hiding both hands. *Trad.* Akṣobhya (the Eastern Buddha among the five); but the figure does not agree with the usual attitude of Akṣobhya (right hand in Bhūmiśparśamudrā, left hand holding a plait of clothing). The present carving might rather be Śākyamuni, of whom there is a type hiding both hands under his raised left sleeve, the origin of this type being traced by Japanese archeologists to a painting attributed to the famous T'ang painter, Wu Tao-tzū 吳道子. See Ono, *op. cit.*, p. 521.

16(se). — A monk with cap over head and shoulders, his hands hidden in his sleeves, walking on some plants. *Trad.* 師子音佛, entirely unfounded. Perhaps Bodhidharma crossing the river on reeds?

4. CONCLUSION

In the iconography of the Ch'üan-chou pagodas, the narrative panels carved in soft greenstone⁶⁷ on the base of the eastern tower must be set apart from the other carvings. They evince a fair knowledge of classical Buddhism, and their æsthetic standard also suggests that they were carved after a pictorial model from the hand of some scholarly artist who was well acquainted with the canonical texts, or, in some cases, with the traditional conventions of Buddhist imagery, as transmitted to China from the "Western Countries".

These panels include:

1° A set of scenes from the legend of the Śākya Bodhisattva (n° 1-12). This series is not based on any single text, but the choice of the episodes as well as their treatment reveal the hand of an expert in orthodox iconography, although the style of the carvings and many details of dress and manners are purely Chinese.

2° Various scenes from the history or legend of Indian and Chinese Buddhism (n° 13-39), the arrangement of which does not follow any chronological or traditional order, but is based on the principle of parallelism, so dear to the Chinese mind. The carvings go by pairs, the Chinese epigraphs inscribed on the panels of each pair being worded according to the stylistic rules of parallelism. Most of the scenes seem to have been chosen so as to include animal figures. Thus we find the usual couple of tiger and dragon, here represented by two stories, one Chinese and one Indian (n° 13-14); other animal scenes are also half Indian and half Chinese (n° 15-16). The stories of n° 17-18 deal with elephants, those of n° 19-20 with animal triads, those of n° 33-34 and 35-36 with birds. Other scenes are purely historical, *e.g.* the episodes of Aśoka and Yaśas (n° 21-22) or of the introduction of Buddhism to Southern and Northern China (n° 25-26). Others refer to hermits (n° 37-38), or to pagodas (n° 23-24), or again seem to be mainly ornamental (n° 27-28). Most of these panels are so carefully executed that it is possible to determine exactly their literary sources, often down to the particular Chinese version which

⁶⁷ On this stone, a very fine material, contrasting with the hard granite of the upper stories, *see* p. 92, n. 69

CONCLUSION

the artists followed. Such a vivid and comprehensive "Bible de pierre" of Buddhism is hardly to be found elsewhere in the Far East.

The other carvings of the pagodas, cut in coarse granite around the five stories of each tower, show a very different character. Some carvings of the lower stories (*e.g.*, E 1) still agree to some extent with the classical canon of iconography. The types, however, become more and more corrupt as we ascend the towers, and in the upper stories the arrangement of the figures, their treatment, and their attributes, are often so fanciful that their identification becomes impossible and many of the types seem almost to have been freely invented by the carvers (*e.g.* in W III-IV, E IV-V). Some of these carvings, however, throw an interesting light on popular Buddhism at the end of the Sung dynasty. The cult of the eighteen Arhats was by that time quite popular, the long-browed Piṇḍola (E III 4) and the two Arhats added in China, the Tiger-tamer and the Dragon-subduer (E II 4, 15-16; W I 3, 16; W II 14; etc.), enjoying particular favor. Avalokiteśvara is already associated with a child (E IV 3), or appears as a woman reading on a rock under a tree (E V 7), still the most popular form of Kuan-yin in Southern China. The legend of the pilgrim Hsuan-tsang, as known to us through the successive stages of a famous popular novel, is well represented in the carvings (W I 13-14; IV 2, 11-12; E II 8). We also meet Mu-lien, the hero of another Chinese novel (W V 8). The most conspicuous sect is that of Dhyāna, with its specifically Chinese types: Bodhidharma (W III 7; E II 9; etc.) and his patron Liang Wu-ti (W IV 1; E II 10, IV 9), the burlesque pair Han-shan and Shih-tê (W and E II 1-2), the fat monk Pu-tai (E II 11), and P'u-hua with his bell (W I 11; E III 3). A striking feature is the complete absence of any Tantric figure, suggesting that Tantric Buddhism, which had been so flourishing at the Imperial Court since the eighth century onward, had not yet, on the eve of the Mongol dynasty, reached the popular masses in Southern China. With this one exception, the granite carvings of the Ch'üan-chou pagodas display a popular iconography which, on the whole, has not changed much in China from the middle of the thirteenth century down to the present day.

II. HISTORICAL DATA

1. BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following works have been used for the preparation of these historical notes:

T = *Gazetteer of the K'ai-yüan Temple*, 開元寺志, compiled from 1635 to 1643 A.D. by the monk Yuan-hsien 元賢, and reprinted in 1927. This book is divided into four sections: i. History of the temple and of its various monuments, 建置志; ii. Biographical section, 開士志; iii. Literary section, 藝文志; iv. Economic section, 田賦志. The materials used by the compiler were an older gazetteer, compiled by a Ming scholar named Ch'ên 陳 in 1596, and a biographical work on the temple, entitled 紫雲開士傳 and compiled by a monk of the Yuan dynasty, Ta-kuei 大圭 (*alias* Mêng-kuan 夢觀), in 1348 (cf. *T*, III, 18a). In addition, he used various literary, epigraphic or traditional sources of information. According to the preface, all information concerning the history of the temple up to the Yuan dynasty is derived from the Yuan biographical work quoted above. A work similar to the latter had already been published under the Sung dynasty by Hsu Lieh 許列, but it was no longer extant when the present gazetteer was compiled. Further, an "ancient gazetteer", previous to 1393, is quoted in an inscription of 1595 (*T*, III, 5b). Lastly, the prefectural gazetteer, XVI, 18b-21b, reproduces *in extenso* two notices, 記略, one on the pagodas, written in 1637 by a local scholar, Chiang Tê-ying 蔣德璟 (doctor in 1633; cf. *S*, IX, 76b-77b), and one on the temple, written under the Ch'ing dynasty by Huang Fêng-hsiang 黃鳳翔. Both notices agree literally with our gazetteer.

S = *Gazetteer of the Sub-prefecture of Chin-chiang*, 晉江縣志, compiled in 1765, revised edition of 1866.

P = *Gazetteer of the Prefecture of Ch'üan-chou*, *Ch'üan-chou fu chih*, enlarged edition of 1763, reprinted in 1927 from a previous reprint of 1870.

E = *Epigraphy of Fu-chien*, 福建金石志, an excellent work recently published by the Archaeological Association of Fu-chien, with valuable annotations due to Mr. Ch'ên Yen 陳衍, a well-known scholar and poet of

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Fu-chou, formerly Head of the Department of Sinology at the University of Amoy, and his pupil Mr Yeh Ch'ang-ch'ing 葉長青

IS = Two inscriptions on the second story of both pagodas, dated 1456

IW = Inscription, dated 1666, at the well near the Ordination Terrace

2. K'AI-YÜAN TEMPLE

The pagodas are located within the precincts of the K'ai-yuan Temple, also called Temple of the Purple Cloud, 紫雲寺. There is a legend about the foundation of this temple. In 686 a local citizen, Huang Shou-kung 黃守恭, dreamt that a monk begged some of his land to establish a temple. He answered that he would grant the request if a certain mulberry tree produced lotus-flowers. The miracle occurred, and so the temple was founded. This legend must be ancient, as it is related in a work of the middle of the fourteenth century (釋氏稽古略, *Taishō Trip.*, n° 2037, p. 819), which gives as its source a local gazetteer (輿記). The mulberry tree is still shown to visitors near the lodgings of the abbot!

The temple was first called Temple of the Lotus-flowers, 蓮花寺 (or 蓮花瑞應道場 according to 八閩通志 quoted in *P*, XVI, 18a). In 693 and 705 it was granted by the empress Wu the official names of Hsing-chiao ssü 興教寺 and Lung-hsing ssü 龍興寺. In 738 the emperor Hsuan-tsung 玄宗 ordered that there should be in each prefecture a Buddhist temple called by the title of the era, K'ai-yuan, hence the new name of our temple, K'ai-yuan ssü.

Originally the temple comprised only a main hall, called the Hall of the Purple Cloud, 紫雲殿, because a purple cloud had appeared at the time of its foundation; a library, 經樓, a belfry, 鐘樓; a threefold gate, 三門; and lodgings for the abbot, called 尊勝院 (cf inscription of 897, *E*, 石, II, 32a, *T*, III, 5b; and *T*, I, 9b-12a, III, 14b sq). Later on other buildings were gradually erected near or around the temple, partly for purposes of worship, partly as lodgings for monks, etc. Under the Yuan dynasty, in 1285, there were no less than 120 "quarters", 區, or secondary compounds, 支院, surrounding the temple. They were then officially annexed to the temple, and the whole establishment received the name of Ta k'ai-yuan wan-shou ch'an-ssü 大開元萬壽禪寺.

It was about that time that our temple reached the height of its prosperity. The city of Ch'uan-chou was then the chief emporium of foreign trade in China (between 1150 and 1250, according to J. Kuwabara), and was praised as the largest harbour of the world by Western visitors. It is reported that about the year 1300 the monks staying at the K'ai-yuan Temple were no less than 1000 (食常萬指, *T*, I, 2a), while according to

Odoric de Pordenone, who visited in Zayton, between 1316 and 1330 A.D., a Buddhist temple which can be no other than ours, their number was 3000 (Yule and Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, II, 184); and there is an old saying that "in ancient times this spot was called a Buddha-land, and every passer-by was a holy man" (此地古稱佛國，滿街都是聖人, T, Pref. II, 1b). The Twin Pagodas are worthy memorials of this period of prosperity.

The decay of the temple began with the troubles at the end of the Yuan dynasty. In 1357 a huge fire destroyed all the main buildings (though not the pagodas); the emperor T'ai-tsu had them rebuilt at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, in 1398-1400, but at the end of the sixteenth century the monks had become so poor and defenceless that the buildings were occupied by coolies, who turned them into lodgings and workshops for the fabrication of arms and powder, causing considerable damage and destroying many ancient treasures. In 1594 these intruders were expelled by the authorities; repairs were then made by a descendant of the founder of the temple, and again in 1637. Recently a restoration of the temple and pagodas has been undertaken with the financial help of inhabitants of the district who have emigrated to the South Seas and of rich merchants of Amoy, some of whom are said to be descendants of the founder of the temple. But the extent of the temple has been greatly reduced, and in its present condition it cannot compare with the pomp and grandeur of bygone days, though something of its past glory still lingers about it.

The history of the chief buildings which have been preserved (apart from the pagodas) may be summarized as follows:

The main hall (紫雲殿, or 大雄寶殿; Plan: C; pls. 29b, 67-68) was founded in 686, but the original building was burnt before 897, when it was rebuilt by a high official, who had four statues erected in it, one of which had formerly been given by the emperor Hsuan-tsung 玄宗. Under the Sung and Yuan dynasties, the hall was burnt twice (1150 and 1357). In 1398 it was rebuilt by a monk specially sent from Nanking by T'ai-tsu 太祖, the founder of the Ming dynasty. Repairs were made in 1594 and 1637; at the latter date all the wooden columns were replaced in stone.

The building called Ordination Terrace (戒壇; Plan: D) was erected

under the Sung dynasty, in 1019, and rebuilt in 1128 according to strict ritual rules (*T*, I, 3a *sq*, II, 40b) It was burnt in 1357 and rebuilt in 1400 Repairs were made in 1594, and under the Ch'ing dynasty in 1666, when a well of the T'ang dynasty was discovered under the building and reopened (cf *IV*)

The Hall of the Law (法堂, Plan E) is not earlier than the Yuan dynasty (1285) It was burnt in 1357 and rebuilt in 1398 Repairs were made in 1450-1464, 1548, 1594, etc

The Temple of the Dānapati (杜越祠, Plan F), founded at the end of the thirteenth century, was burnt in 1357 and rebuilt about 1398 In 1596 it was repaired by a local official, Huang Wén-ping 黃文炳, a descendant of the founder of the temple, who consecrated this building to the memory of his ancestor (see *T*, I, 5b, and inscriptions in *T*, III, 19b-23a)

The construction of the gates (三門, pl 7b) was started in 687 They were burnt and rebuilt in 1155 and 1327, repairs were made under the Ming dynasty

The belfry (鐘樓) and the various libraries (經樓, 東藏殿, 西藏殿) which formerly existed have entirely disappeared

3. STŪPAS AND VOTIVE PILLARS

IN THE YARD OF THE K'AI-YUAN TEMPLE

In the yard between the main hall and the Gate of the K'ai-yuan Temple there are two square stūpas (t'a 塔)⁶³ and two octagonal votive pillars (ch'uang 幢), all in stone, with carvings and inscriptions, which may be dated as follows.

STŪPAS OF 1145

(In front of the main hall; Plan: R1 and R2; pls. 29a, 66.)

As stated in an inscription on the eastern stūpa, both stūpas were erected under the Sung dynasty, in 1145, by a woman named Liu San-niang 柳三娘 who lived in the southwest quarter of the city (右南廂; under the Sung the city of Ch'uan-chou was divided into five 廂). This inscription, which is difficult to decipher, is reproduced in the *Epigraphy of Fu-chien* [= *E*], VIII, 18b. It is followed by a later inscription stating that the stūpas were repaired by a certain Wang Ssü-wên 王思問 at an uncertain date. On a brick set in the upper story of the stūpa, there is an undated inscription with the name of a woman and of a man (?) who also lived in the "southwest quarter" (the term used for "quarter" can belong only to the Sung dynasty). Higher up there are further inscriptions meaning: "Ten thousand years to the Emperor!" and: "The Bodhisattvas Sūryaprabha and Candraprabha" (see *E*, 附錄, II, 8a). Both stūpas are obviously enlarged copies in stone of the gilt bronze stūpas cast by the king of Wu-Yueh 吳越, Ch'ien Hung-shu 錢弘俶, in 955, of which specimens are extant in various museums (Kyōto, Tōkyō, Berlin; see also Maspero, *BEFEO*, XIV, n° 8, p. 62, and figs. 26-28; Boerschmann, *Pagoden*, 416 *et seq.*; and compare above under E, base, carvings 22 and 24; also W v 4, etc.). The disposition of the stūpas is the same, and the composition of the scenes carved on the four sides, their general movement, the attitudes of the chief persons, are clearly similar. According to Chinese (Bushell, *Chinese Art*, I, 92) and also to Japanese archaeologists (Ishizaki in *Ōtani gakuhō*, 石崎達二, 大谷學報, IX, II, 1928, pp. 300-302), these four scenes represent the Bodhisattva offering his body to feed a tigress, Candraprabha cutting off his head to save a Brahmin, Śibirāja cutting off his flesh to rescue a dove,

⁶³ For the use of the word "stūpa", see p 7, n 20

and Maitribalarāja giving his ear. These identifications need to be carefully checked, but the carvings of our stūpas, which are rough imitations in stone, offer no help in this respect. The chief difference between these stūpas and those of Wu-Yueh is that the upper corner-pieces, which in the latter are occupied by Vajra-Guardians, are in the former divided into two registers with carvings apparently representing scenes from the life of Śākya Bodhisattva. In one carving he is seen at his birth, with one hand raised and the other lowered; in another, he is practising archery. A specimen of the Wu-Yueh stūpas which is preserved in a private collection at T'ung-an 同安, a sub-prefecture of Ch'uan-chou (*E*, 僑刻, I, 12b sq.), might have served as model for these two stūpas.

VOTIVE PILLAR OF 1008

(In front of the main hall, on the western side. Plan: T 1.)

This pillar was erected in 1008 by Yuan-shao 元紹 and others. It bears a notice composed by the monk Tsung-mei 宗美 and calligraphed by Lin Hsun 林巽, with the names of many monks and donors; besides the text of the *Usnīsavijayādhāraṇī* (佛頂尊勝陀羅尼) as rendered into Chinese by Amoghavajra. The inscription is in poor condition, but the date is just readable on the southern face. Cf. *E*, 石, V, 17a, quoting a text according to which this pillar belonged formerly to the Shui-lu ssū 水陸寺 (see Plan: O), whence it was transferred to its present place.

VOTIVE PILLAR OF 1031

(Near the gate, west of the yard. Plan: T 2; pl. 8a.)

The inscription is almost entirely obliterated, but the date and the title of the *Usnīsavijayādhāraṇī* may be deciphered on the southeastern and northeastern faces. Cf. *E*, 石, V, 25a-b.

OTHER VOTIVE PILLARS IN FU-CHIEN

It may be of some interest to add here a list of the other votive pillars with the *Usnīsavijayādhāraṇī* which exist or did exist in the province of Fu-chien according to *E*; none is anterior to the end of the T'ang (after the great proscription of 845), and none posterior to the Northern Sung:

1. Some hundred feet outside the western gate of Ch'uan-chou. Dated 849. *E*, II, 20a.

2. At the K'ai-yuan ssü of Lung-ch'i 龍溪縣, *i.e.* Chang-chou. Dated 863. *Ib.*, 29b.

3-4. Formerly in Fu-chou; now lost. Dated 909 and 956. *E*, 存目, XIII, 2b-3a.

5. Formerly at the Chao-ch'ing ch'an-yuan 招慶禪院 in Ch'uan-chou; now lost. Dated 990. *E*, 石, V, 11b.

6. At the Ch'êng-t'ien ssü 承天寺 in Ch'uan-chou. Dated 991. *Ib.*, 14b.

7. At the T'ao-yuan kung 桃源宮 in Nan-an 南安, a sub-prefecture of Ch'uan-chou. Dated 1025. *Ib.*, 24b.

8. Formerly at Ch'ang-ch'i 長溪, a village in the prefecture of Fu-ning 福寧府; now transferred to P'ing-yang 平陽縣 in Chê-chiang 浙江. Dated 1116. *Ib.*, VII, 20b.

4. WESTERN PAGODA

The origin of the Western Pagoda is traced to a wooden pagoda of seven stories erected under the Five Dynasties, in 916. According to the legend of its foundation, this pagoda had been originally erected in Fu-chou 福州 by the military governor Wang Shên-chih 王審知, better known as the King of Fu-chien, 閩王, a title which he had received from the emperor T'ai-tsu 太祖 of the Later Liang 後梁 dynasty; this governor founded a local dynasty in Fu-chien, and his son took the title of emperor. Wang Shên-chih, the legend says, had built a wooden pagoda in his capital, but a mysterious monk appeared to him in a dream and asked him to have it transferred to Ch'uan-chou, and the pagoda was rebuilt on our spot. Behind this legend there may be some historical reality. Wang Shên-chih has made himself famous in Fu-chien as a builder of pagodas and a donor of Buddhist images (cf. *E*, 石, III, 11b, 12b, IV, 7a; XII, 18a-b; 附錄, II, 3b sq.). In 904 he had erected to the memory of his father an octagonal pagoda of seven stories, with a circumference of 77 feet and a height of 200 feet, not including a spire (相輪) of 40 feet, the pagoda was made of brick internally, but entirely covered with wood, each of the 56 angles having the earthen image of a deity, and all the doors on each face being decorated with paintings of golden images. This pagoda was called *Dīpam-kara-Prabhūtaratna-Stūpa* for the Retribution of Kindness 報恩定光多寶塔; it was located at the Wan-sui Temple 萬歲寺, near the southeastern corner of the city wall, at the southwest of the Hill of the Nine Immortals, 九仙山, one of the three hills of Fu-chou. It was destroyed by fire in 1534, and was rebuilt in 1548. It may well be that the original Western Pagoda of Ch'uan-chou was a copy of this pagoda, a fact which might account for the legend quoted above. In 901 Wang Shên-chih had also erected at the K'ai-yuan Temple of Fu-chou a pagoda called *Shou-shan t'a* 壽山塔. The first name of the Western Pagoda of Ch'uan-chou was *Wu-leang-shou t'a* 無量壽塔 (Pagoda of Amitāyus). Its present name, *Jên-shou t'a* 仁壽塔 (Benevolence and Longevity), was given to it in 1114.

This wooden pagoda was burnt in 1155, and rebuilt by Liao-hsing 了性 and Shou-ching 守淨 in 1178. Later on it was burnt again, and was rebuilt in brick by Shou-ch'un 守淳.

The present stone building was undertaken by the monk Tzū-chêng

WESTERN PAGODA

自證 in 1228 (or according to *P* in 1225–1227), and was completed in 1237, more than ten years before the Eastern Pagoda. In 1401 repairs were made on the inside of the pagoda, and in 1476 (cf. *IS*) the railings were repaired. In 1588 a typhoon destroyed the summit, and the gilt point fell to the ground; repairs were made by a local citizen. In 1606 another typhoon destroyed the entire summit, including the iron incense-burner, the copper cover, the iron chains and the gilt point; repairs were made in 1612 by public subscription (*S*, XVI, 40a).

5. EASTERN PAGODA

The foundation of the Eastern Pagoda is traced back by most authorities to the Hsien-t'ung 咸通 era, under the reign of T'ang I-tsung 唐懿宗 (860-874; Hsien-hêng 咸亨 in *T*, I, 6b; *P*, XVI, 20b, etc., is a misprint), when a local monk named Wên-ch'êng 文衡 (who lived from 798 to 876; cf. *T*, II, 21a-b; *S*, XV, 30a; *P*, LXV, 2a-b) built on this spot a wooden pagoda of five stories (or nine stories according to *P*, XVI, 19b); the construction of this original building lasted from 860 to 865, and it received the name of Chên-kuo t'a 鎮國塔, "Pagoda for the Security of the State," which has been retained down to the present day. In 866 an official called Hsu Tsung-jên 徐宗仁 brought from Ch'ang-an some Buddha's relics which were placed inside the pagoda. According to another source, however (八閩通志, quoted in *P*, XVI, 19b), this wooden pagoda was not built until during the Five Dynasties, in the middle of the tenth century, together with the original Western Pagoda.

Under the Sung dynasty, in 1017-1022, a wooden pagoda of thirteen stories replaced the original one. It was burnt in 1155, and rebuilt in 1186 by the monks Liao-hsing 了性 and Shou-ching 守淨, two famous architects of that time. This new building was burnt again in 1227, and the monk Shou-ch'un 守淳 built in its place a brick pagoda of seven stories (in *P*, however, this brick construction is dated as twelfth century).

The present building in stone was undertaken in 1238 by the monk Pên-hung 本洪 (*P* writes Pên-kung 本供), who built the first story. The 'ch'ing shih' 青石 carvings of the base are praised as "works of divine art and supernatural workmanship".⁶⁹

The work of Pên-hung was continued by Fa-ch'uan 法權, who built the second, third, and fourth stories, and by another monk who completed the fifth story in 1250. This latter monk is called 天竺講僧, i.e. probably "a preaching monk from the Indian [Temple]" (T'ien-chu ssü, near Hang-chou; in *P*, XVI, 20a, he is called 天錫, probably a misprint).

In 1394 the terminal spire of the pagoda was turned down; it was set right in 1397. In 1456 the iron chains of the summit and the railings of the

⁶⁹ Ch'ing shih is the local name for a kind of diorite—"greenstone"—found between Ch'üan-chou and Fu-ch'ing, a stone of very fine grain which can be polished so as to "look like jade", and which partly accounts for the extreme delicacy of these reliefs of the base as compared with the granite carvings of the upper stories

galleries, which had been damaged by natural exposure, were repaired by the monks of the temple (cf *IS*) In 1604 an earthquake broke the summit of the pagoda and set loose several stones, which fell from the roof or the upper story and damaged some of the lower stories (railings only, according to *S*, XV, 39b), repairs were made in 1606 by means of a subscription organized by a local official named Chan Yang-p'i 詹仰庇 (on whom see *S*, IX, 50a-b)

6. BUDDHIST ARCHITECTS AND FOREIGN MONKS IN CH'ÜAN-CHOU

The Buddhist clergy has often been accused in China of being unproductive. The chief argument used against Buddhism by its Confucianist opponents always was that the monks were social parasites and mere consumers who contributed nothing to the economic life of the country. Nevertheless, some of the eight beatific works (*puṇyakṣetra*) expressly recommended in Chinese treatises of Mahāyāna discipline consist in digging wells, making roads, building bridges, etc. (see for instance *T.* 1812, p. 591b; 1813, p. 639a; also an old Hīnayāna sūtra, *T.* 683, p. 777b).

Buddhist monks have been remarkably active in Ch'üan-chou and the surrounding region as builders not only of pagodas and temples, but also of bridges and other works of public utility. One of the largest bridges of the city, the Bridge of Charitable Help, 悲濟橋, with 130 arches and a length of 800 feet, had been built in the middle of the eleventh century by the monk Fa-ch'ao 法超, a native of Ch'üan-chou; the construction was entirely of stone, and along the bridge there were six pavilions with pagodas and Buddhist images (*T.* II, 37b sq.; *S.* XV, 30b; *P.* X, 7a and LXV, 13a-b). About the same time a monk of the sub-prefecture of An-ch'i 安溪, who died in 1101, made himself famous as a builder of bridges, roads, pavilions, etc. (*P.* LXV, 15a-b). K'o-tsun 可選, who was abbot of one of the compounds of the K'ai-yuan Temple in the eleventh century, is said to have devoted all the alms which he received to the construction of bridges and temples (*S.* XV, 31a-b; *P.* LXV, 16a). The repairers of our pagodas, Liao-hsing and his disciple Shou-ching, who lived in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had built several other pagodas, as well as temples, gates, bridges, etc. In 1208-1225 Shou-ching built a stone bridge 1000 feet long in the sub-prefecture of Nan-an 南安; he was also a sculptor (閩書 quoted in *P.* LXV, 20a and *E.* 石, X, 23a; see also *P.* X, 16b-18b; *S.* XV, 32a-b). A bridge in the sub-prefecture of T'ung-an 同安 was called the "Bridge of Monks", 和尚橋, as it had been built by monks (*P.* X, 31b-32a). In 1253-1259 Tao-hsun 道詢, a native of Hui-an 惠安, is said to have built more than 200 bridges in the region, and also dikes, etc. (*P.* LXV, 20a-b). Under the Yuan dynasty Po-fu 伯福, a monk of the K'ai-yüan Temple who died in 1330, was a bricklayer and made dikes and wells for

the people, while Chieh-shêng 介勝, a monk of Nan-an, built a temple and a bridge at his own expense (*S*, XV, 33a; *P*, LXV, 22a-23b).

It may be that some of these monks, as in the last case for example, did not actually take part in the construction work, but merely organized it from the financial point of view. There is no doubt, however, that some of them were real technicians. We are told that when Po-fu was paving the yard of the K'ai-yuan Temple, he used to sleep with the coolies. In 1926 the restoration of the pagodas was being carried out by coolies under the personal direction and supervision of the abbot of the K'ai-yuan Temple, the Rev. Yuan-ying, who despite his advanced age took us up the scaffolding with surprising alacrity.

There is thus every reason to think that the Chinese monks of Ch'uan-chou were quite able to build our pagodas without the help of any foreigners, however exceptional these stone towers may appear to be in Chinese architecture. The only large constructions in stone known to have been undertaken in the Far East in pre-Sung times, besides walls and bridges, are the hundred feet high pagoda erected by the Northern Wei in 467-471 A D. (see J. R. Ware in *T'oung Pao*, 1933, p. 149), and various monuments of the eighth century at Kyōng-tju (Keishū) in Corea.

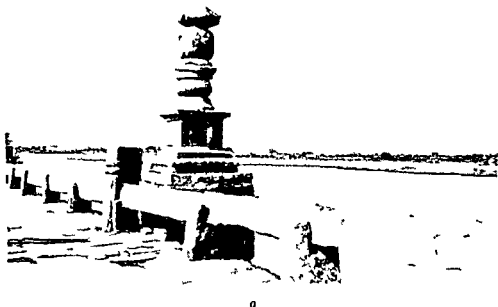
In fact, when Ch'uan-chou became an important centre of foreign intercourse, Buddhist monks were no longer coming to China from the West. At the time of the Five Dynasties (907-959), we hear of two foreign monks, one from the "Western Countries" and one from India, who stayed at the K'ai-yuan Temple (知亭 and 朝悟; *P*, LXV, 8b-9a; *S*, XV, 29b); and in his work on foreigners under the Sung dynasty (諸蕃志), Chao Ju-kua 趙汝适 tells us of an Indian monk who came to Ch'uan-chou in 984-988, and with the support of foreign merchants founded in the south of the city (i.e. in the foreign quarter) a Buddhist temple which later on was called Pao-lin yuan 寶林院 (Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 111). But after that our texts are silent on any other foreign Buddhists in Ch'uan-chou, and though K'o-tsun 可遜, who lived in our temple about the end of the eleventh century, is reported to have looked like a Western monk, with a beard, a mustache and blue eyes, nevertheless he had been born in the neighbouring sub-prefecture of Nan-an from a family called by the purely Chinese surname of Hsu 徐 (*T*, II, 35a-b; *S*, XV, 31a-b; *P*, LXV, 16a).

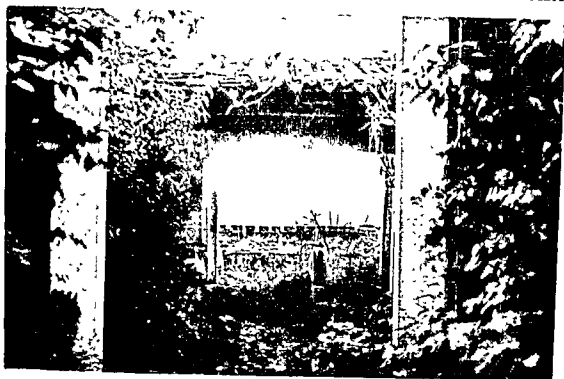


a



b





a



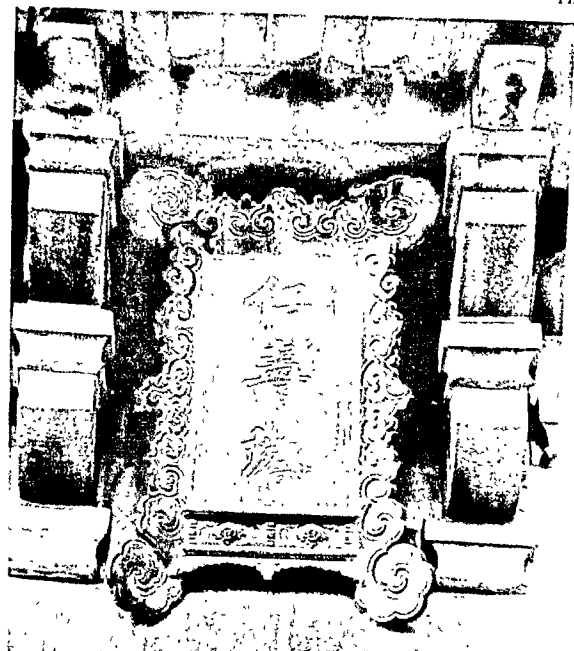
b



a

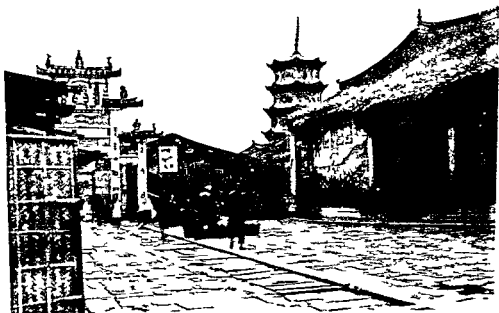


b





a



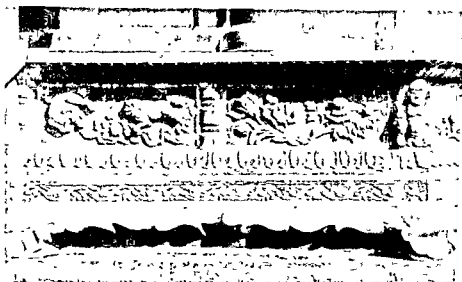
b



a



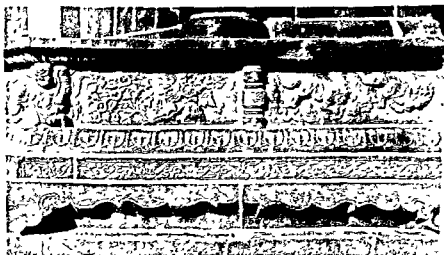
b



a



b



c







a



b



c



d



W 11(s)



W 14(sw)



W 13(sw)



W 12(s)



W 1 6(w)



W 1 5(w)



W 1 8(nw)



W 1 7(nw)



W 1 10(N)



W 1 9(N)



W 1 12(NF)



W 1 11(NF)



W III 6(w)



W III 5(w)



W III 4(sw)



W III 16(se)



W III 15(se)



W III 10(N)



W 1 10(N)



W 1 9(N)



W 1 10(NE)



W 1 11(NE)



W iv 10(n)



W iv



W iv 4(sw)



W iv 3(sw)



W iv 10(se)



W iv 13(e)



W III 3(sw)



W III 2(s)



W III 1(s)



W III 11(ne)



W III 12(ne)



W III 9(s)



r iv 10(N)



W



W iv 4(SN)



W iv 3(SN)



r 10(SE)



W iv 13(E)



W v 3(sw)



W v 2(s)



W v 1(o)



W v 12(f)



W v 12 sw)



W 14(F)



W 13(E)



W 16(SE)



W 15(SE)



W i 14(e)



W i 13(e)



W i 16(se)



W i 15(se)



W II 2(s)



W II 1(s)



W II 13(n)



W II 5(w)



W III 8(sw)



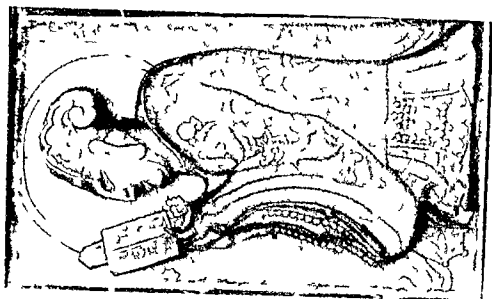
W III 7(nw)



W III 14(e)



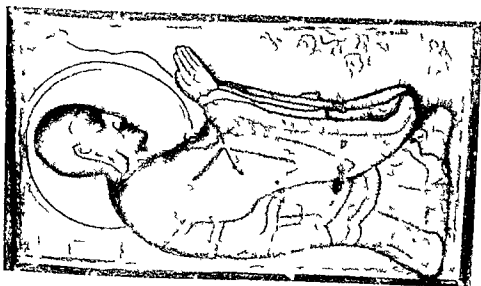
W III 13(e)



W IV 1(s)



W IV 12(ne)



W IV 2(s)





W IV 11(NF)



W v 8(sw)



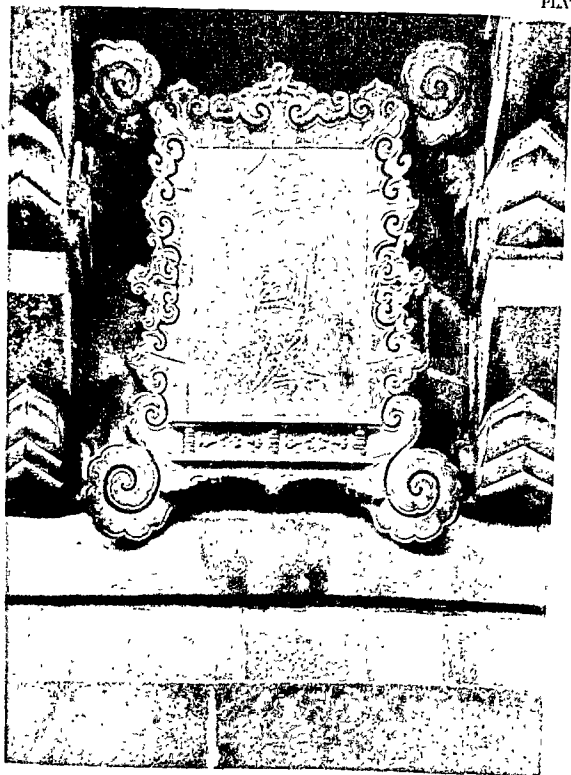
W v 7(sw)

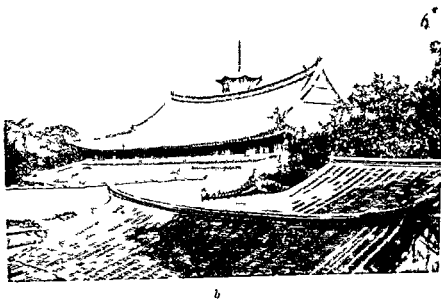


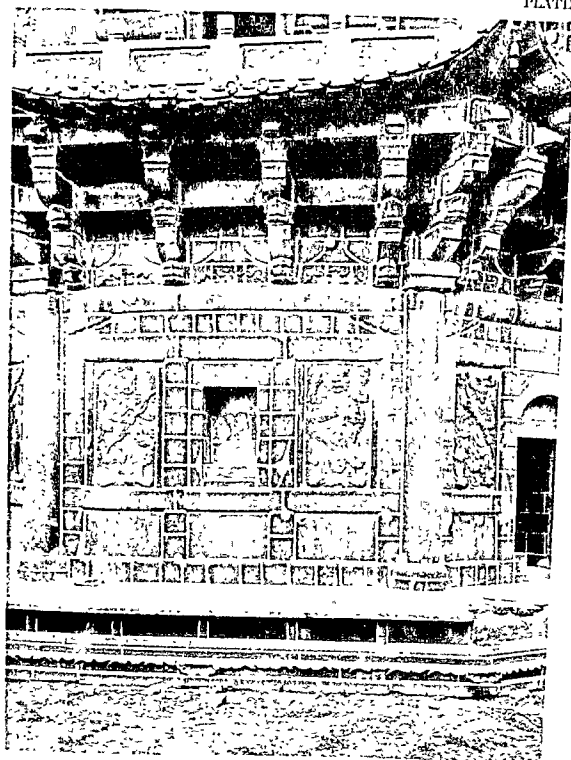
W v 14(e)



W v 11(ne)



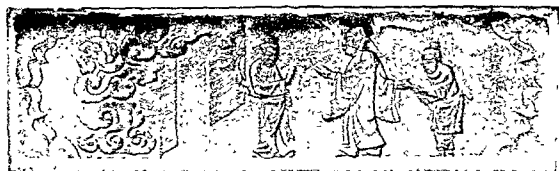




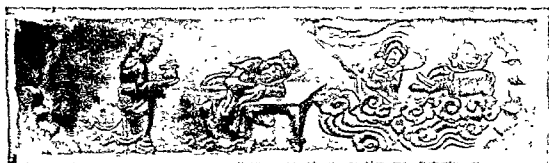
E 1 (SE)



E base 1



E base 2 .



E base 3



E base 4



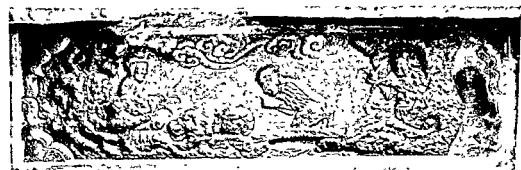
E base 5



E base 6



E base 7



E base 8



E base 9



E base 10



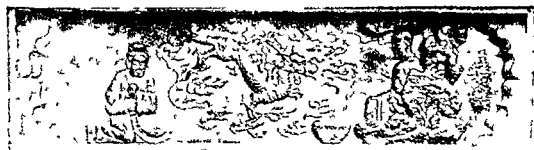
F base 11



I base 12



E base 13



E base 14



E base 15



E base 16



Gamma base 17



Gamma base 18



Gamma base 19



Gamma base 20



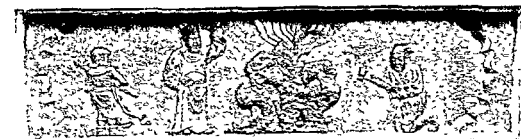
E base 21



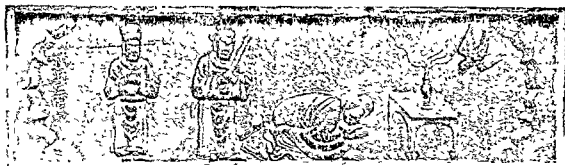
E base 22



E base 23



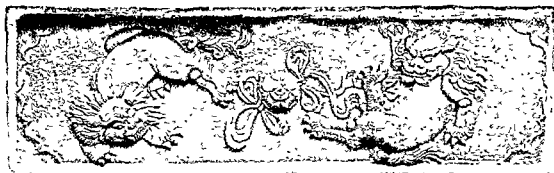
E base 24



E base 25



E base 26



E base 27



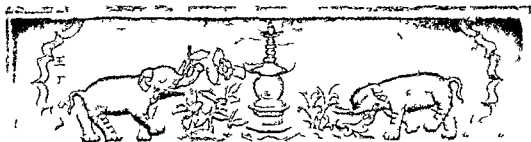
E base 28



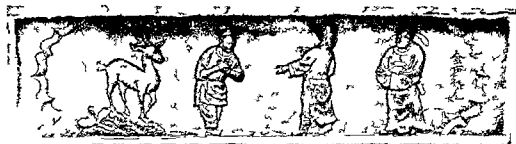
Gamma base 29



E base 30



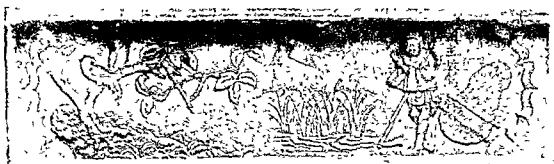
E base 31



Gamma base 32



E base 33



E base 34



E base 35



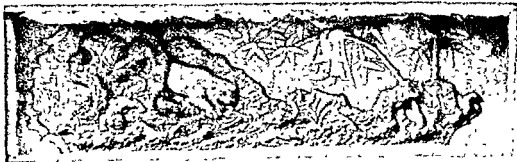
E base 36



E base 37



E base 38



E base 39



Γ 12(s)



Γ 11(s)



Γ 14(sw)



Γ 13(sw)



Γ 16(w)



F 15(w)



Γ 18(sw)



Γ 17(sw)



E 1 10(n)



E 1 9(n)



E 1 12(nL)



E 1 11(nf)



Pl 14(r)



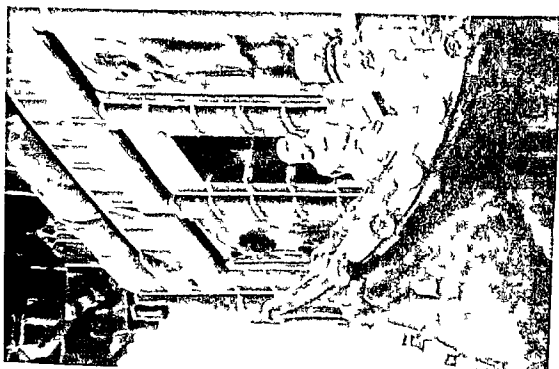
Pl 13(e)



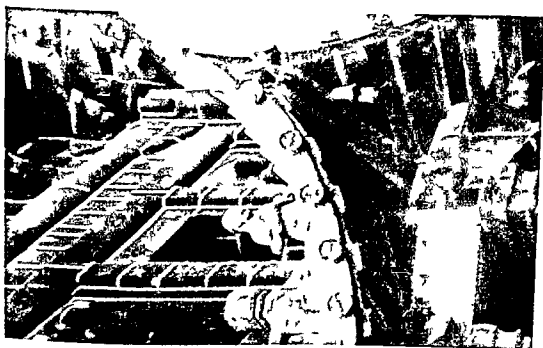
Pl 16(se)



Pl 15(se)



b



b



E II 2(s)



E II 1(s)



E II 4(sw)



E II 3(sw)



Γ II 6(w)



Ε II 5(w)



Ι II 8(σω)



Γ II 7(σω)



E II 10(N)



E II 9(N)



F II 12(S)



F II 11(S)



E II 14(E)



E II 13(E)



L II 16(SI)



I II 15(SI)



E iii 2(s)



F iii 1(s)



F iii 4(ov)



F iii 7(ov)



F III 7(nw)



L III 5(w)



I III 9 s)



I III 8 nw)



E III 11(NE)



E III 10(N)



E III 14(E)



E III 13(E)



E III 16(SE)



E III 15(SE)



E III 12(SE)



E iv 6(w)



E iv 5(w)



E iv 3(sw)



E iv 2(s)



E iv 1(s)



E iv 4(sw)



Γ iv 8(↖w)



Γ iv 3(↖w)



Γ iv 7(↖w)



Ev 11(ne)



Ev 10(n)



Ev 9(n)



Ev 15(sr)



Ev 14(r)



Ev 13(r)



Em 12(sr)



a



c



b



a



b



c



d





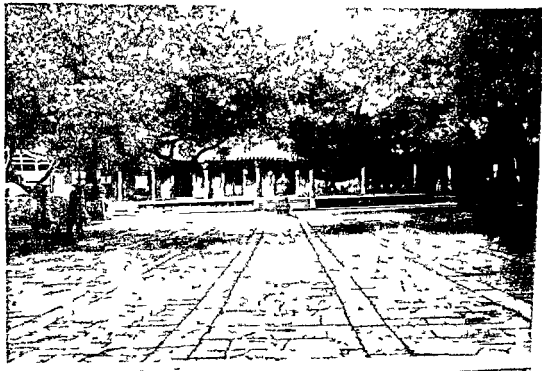
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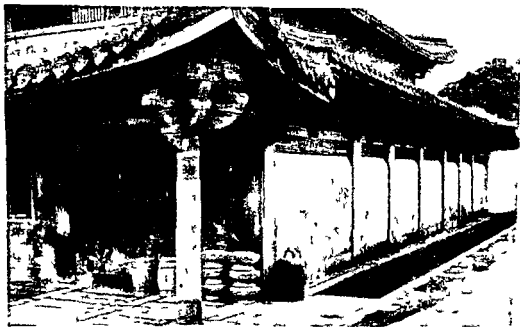
b







a



b



a



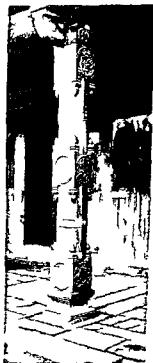
b



c



a



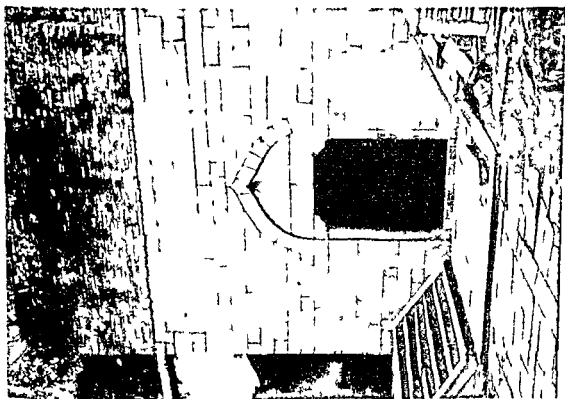
b



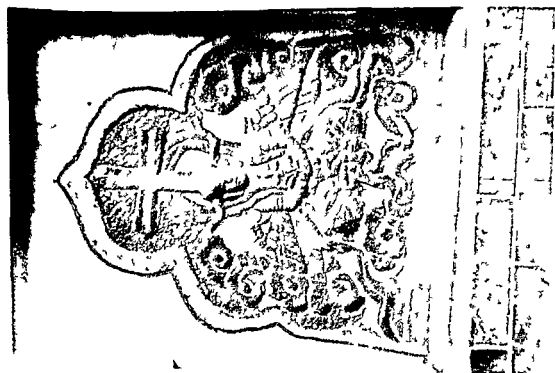
c



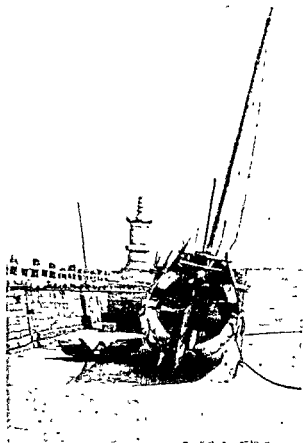
d



a



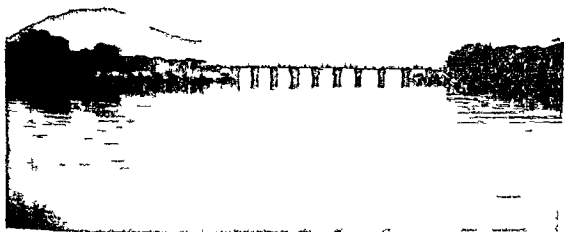
b



a



b

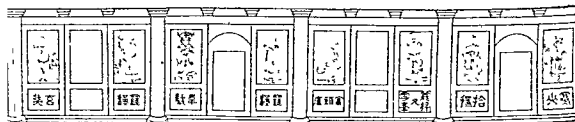
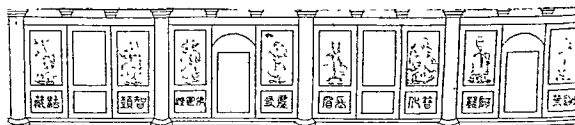
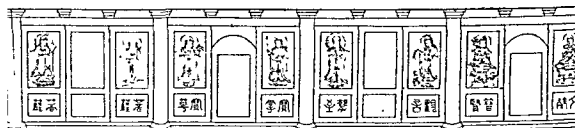
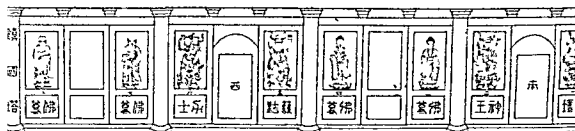


a



b

8 (NW) 7 6 (W) 5 4 (SW) 3 2 (S) 1



8 (NW) 7 6 (W) 5 4 (SW) 3 2 (S) 1